

With Mr Bickerton's Compliments

4.

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS
A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF
DR JOHN RUTTER

THE FOUNDER OF THE LIVERPOOL MEDICAL
INSTITUTION (BUILDING)

DELIVERED ON 7TH OCTOBER 1909
AT THE OPENING OF THE SEVENTY-FIRST SESSION OF
THE LIVERPOOL MEDICAL INSTITUTION (ASSOCIATION)



BY

THE PRESIDENT,
THOMAS H. BICKERTON,

OPHTHALMIC SURGEON TO THE LIVERPOOL ROYAL INFIRMARY
CONSULTING OPHTHALMIC SURGEON TO THE BOOTLE BOROUGH HOSPITAL
CONSULTING OPHTHALMIC SURGEON TO THE SOUTHPORT GENERAL INFIRMARY

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OPHTHALMIC SURGEON TO THE LIVERPOOL ROYAL INFIRMARY,
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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have the great pleasure of offering to you, at this gathering which precedes the serious work of another session, a sincere and cordial welcome. It is a privilege which, as President, I enjoy for the last time; and if any circumstance could add to the warmth of my greeting, that fact would supply it. A privilege which extended over a period of twenty-six years, as was once the custom attaching to this office, could not possibly have the savour of one terminating at the end of two.

¹ On 16th August 1839 the Liverpool Medical Library, the Liverpool Medical Society, and the Trustees of the Liverpool Medical Institution (Building) amalgamated to form the Liverpool Medical Association. The first inaugural address to the Association was delivered on 24th October 1839 by Mr Banner, who took the chair as one of the Presidents of the late Medical Society. The first annual meeting of the Liverpool Medical Association was held on 14th January 1840, when Mr James Dawson was chosen to fill the office of President.

Again, I rejoice in welcoming you to such a building, the finest, I think I may say, as it is the oldest, of its kind in the United Kingdom. The debt we owe to the man who conceived it grows ever larger, while the accession of every member adds a fresh laurel to his outstanding genius and discernment.

And I rejoice exceedingly, and perhaps most of all, in the fact that the session opens with the largest membership on record—a complete justification of those who, led by Sir James Barr, urged reconstruction of the building, and a permanent tribute to those whose generosity enabled the scheme to be carried through.

The number of gentlemen joining the Institution since the reconstruction was completed, 1st January 1906, to date, 3rd October 1909, has been 145, and the total membership to-day is 421. Prior to the commencement of the reconstruction, 31st December 1905, the total membership (members and associates) had been stationary for four years:—1901, 342; 1902, 339; 1903, 342; 1904, 341.

But there are still 323 gentlemen in Liverpool of us, but not with us, and in my opinion it is for us to discover what, if any, are the obstacles which hinder their union with us, and if possible to remove them. “The principle of association is the want of the age” so far as the medical profession is concerned.

I can formulate, for the session now commenced, no better wish than that, in addition to its scientific labours, there may be a continuation of the success which has characterised the more recent public work of the Institution. This success, in my judgment, has been due, not only to the quality of the work done, but to the public dissemination of it, as instanced by the publication and circulation of the Report on the Milk Supply to Voluntary Hospitals; the publication of the Resolution condemnatory of the unhealthy practice of “kissing the Book”; the Report on the Treatment of the Apparently Dead from Drowning, forwarded to the Liverpool Shipwreck and Humane Society; and the forwarding to the Corporation of a Protest, signed by 378 medical men, against the retention of the Abattoir in the centre of the city.

The conference held at the Medical Institution on 17th March 1909 in connection with the milk supply was unique in the history of the Institution. It included representatives from medical boards, lay committees of all the voluntary hospitals, dispensaries, poor-law boards, orphanages, Blue Coat School, City Health Committee and Hospitals Committee.

It will not be questioned that this endeavour of the medical profession to safeguard the health of the city will be appreciated by its inhabitants; but the medical profession has its limits—it can but advise. Hence the value of a conference such as this which included those citizens who have the framing and administration of the laws governing the city.

To the two secretaries of the Milk Committee, Professor Buchanan and Dr H. H. Clarke, the Institution is indebted for the completeness of the Report, for they spared neither time nor energy in an endeavour to produce a report which would be of scientific value and at the same time of practical utility.

In the abolition of the custom of “kissing the Book,” Dr Fred Lowndes, the great-grandson of Dr Matthew Dobson, F.R.S., the first President of the Liverpool Medical Library (1779), has rendered most valuable service. Ever since the subject was first broached, he has never ceased to speak and write against the perpetuation of the traditional ritual of the witness-box. In his missionary efforts he first converted his medical brethren by bringing forward at the Medical Institution concrete cases in support of his views. Finally, he succeeded not only in having his views unanimously endorsed by the Medical Institution, 11th March 1909, but in having them embodied in a resolution and forwarded to the public press. The resolution was as follows:—

“ This meeting is of the opinion that the custom of ‘ kissing the Book ’ on taking the oath is insanitary and dangerous, and should be abolished, and the form of administering an oath with uplifted hand should be adopted.”

The influence the Institution, through the medium of the press, can wield in furthering reforms cannot be better shown

than in the interest aroused by this publication, which was at once copied into *The Times* with an expression of opinion that "other medical societies" should "pass resolutions similar to the above."

The Act passed its third reading in the House of Lords on the 1st of October, and comes into force on 1st January 1910. Dr Lowndes must feel gratified, and in the name of the Institution I should like to congratulate him.

Respecting the Abattoir, the proposal to perpetuate its site in the centre of a densely populated district, in close proximity to the Royal Infirmary and University, is sufficient to bring a blush to a block of ice.

The undesirability of retaining the Abattoir in its present site was brought before the City Council as far back as 1884, when a resolution signed by three hundred and thirty-seven medical men was presented to the Lord Mayor by Dr Carter and the late Sir William Mitchell Banks. There is reason to hope that the recent petition will result in the relics of a mediæval age being swept away.

The Abattoir question has been well summed up by Sir James Barr, who said: "If you are going to keep the Abattoir in its present site, remove Liverpool."

I think then, it will be admitted that the Medical Institution has been taking its part in advancing the better health, and therefore the happiness, of the citizens of this great city.

We have to record with sorrow and regret the loss by death of three gentlemen, valued members of the Institution, and distinguished disciples of the profession they loved and adorned.

Mr George Edward Walker was one of our oldest members, having been elected to membership forty years ago. His early election to office, thirty-seven years ago, is proof of the interest he showed in the affairs of the Institution at that time, an interest which remained undiminished throughout his career; and his practical sympathy with the forward scheme

initiated during the Presidency of his friend, Sir James Barr, was greatly appreciated. His achievements deserve more than a passing reference.

At the time when Mr George Walker took his Fellowship degree at the Royal College of Surgeons of England, the practice of pure specialism was not in vogue. Mr Walker's mind was, however, set that way, and he had the great opportunity of serving as clinical assistant, Sir William Bowman, at the Royal Moorfields Ophthalmic Hospital.

Settling in Liverpool, and not finding a convenient and congenial outlet for his energies, he took two small rooms in a house in St Paul's Square; and from such small beginnings was created, by his ceaseless devotion and tireless energy, a charity which has been the means of relieving tens of thousands of our unfortunate fellow-creatures.

In this good work he found his pleasure, and scope for his great and original abilities; but it cannot be doubted that the mental and physical strain entailed in labouring in small and crowded rooms shortened his life.

In offering this very brief tribute, I may perhaps be permitted to express the belief that it must have been to him a matter of deep satisfaction that the work which he had built up with such labour and devotion would be continued and developed in the able hands of his son, Mr Arthur Walker whom we are happy in having on the Council of the Institution at the present time.

The death of Dr Tawse Nisbet, occurring as it did with startling suddenness, at the very zenith of his career, and when apparently in perfect health, was a striking reminder that in the midst of life we are in death.

To the qualities which have made his countrymen famed the world over, there was added a tact and urbanity in dealing with patients, such as I have rarely seen equalled. He was a member of our Institution for twenty-five years, had served on the Council, and in a characteristic letter received from him enclosing a generous subscription to the

reconstruction fund he showed himself fully alive to the possibilities of the Institution.

A third loss sustained has been that of Dr Henry William King, one of the honorary physicians to the Chester General Infirmary.

Not being personally acquainted with Dr King, his friend and colleague at the Chester Infirmary, Mr R. B. Wright, has at my request kindly supplied a few lines of his testimony:—

“I think,” he writes, “the dominant note in his character was his genuine kindness and good-heartedness, which was better known to his poorer patients than to the public at large. He frequently supplied them with the nourishment they were unable to obtain, and endeared himself to them by his unaffected good-nature.”

It is a striking testimony to the usefulness of this Institution that so many gentlemen from other towns think it worth while to add to their labours by joining us; for attendance, even occasionally, entails a fairly long journey at night and at the most uncongenial season of the year. His membership of the Institution had extended over fourteen years.

I cannot refrain from again calling the attention of the Society—many members being absent when the announcement was originally made—to the generous gift to the funds of the Institution by Mrs E. R. Bickersteth.

It will be remembered that last year the Library Committee reported that the condition of the books was so grievous, that if the work of repair was not shortly taken in hand the damage done was likely to be irreparable. As the overdraft on the reconstruction account had still to be met, the position was serious. From this state of anxiety Mrs Bickersteth's gift of £200—one of the most notable in the history of the Medical Library—gave welcome relief.

Perhaps I may be forgiven for recalling the facts that Mr Robert Bickersteth subscribed generously to the original building fund of this Institution in 1835, that Mr Ed. R.



John Rutter

TAKEN FROM THE PAINTING IN THE POSSESSION OF THE LIVERPOOL
MEDICAL INSTITUTION.

Bickersteth was one of the three largest contributors to the recent reconstruction fund; and also for expressing the hope that the present gift to the Library may be recognised in some permanent manner.

Standing one day in this theatre opposite to the portrait which faces you, I casually asked Mr Jones—our resident Librarian—how the Institution came into possession of it. His answer, that he did not know, led to other questions: and his unvarying replies in the negative set me thinking.

I had faced that picture for twenty-seven years. In an indefinite way I knew it to be that of a Dr Rutter—the attached label proclaimed it to be so, and gave the year of his birth and death, coupled with the statement that he had been “President of the Institution and Donor.”

But who the artist was, where he worked, whether the painting was called into being to gratify the pride of family affection, or as a token of public esteem, no one knows. The artist, however, has done his work well, and has produced a picture which shows him to have been a master of his art. Though it is impossible to assign a date to this portrait, eighty years must have elapsed since it left the easel, and yet the tones possess a freshness beside which the works of many later artists of distinction are comparatively colourless. Clearly the artist gave of his best, and intended that, so far as in him lay, his work should be worthy of the subject.

The scene amidst which Dr Rutter is so strikingly posed is plain to severity. An ungraceful couch or lounge—if so obviously uncomfortable a depository for the human frame can be so designated—is as rigid to the eye as it was in all probability to the body of the sitter, and its principal purpose would seem to be that of a technical accessory to carry the massed red which throws into relief the sober professional garb of the subject, an effect which the tones of the carpet further heighten.

It is not the setting, however, but the figure which arrests

attention. There is an elevation of look combined with an easy dignity of attitude which proclaims at once the professor and the man. There is the firm mouth, suggestive of kindly but unswerving purpose, and apparently on the verge of relaxing into a smile; and dominating all there is the kindly piercing eye, an eye which had literally kept watch o'er man's mortality.

Whether these impressions of a character which is so ably delineated in the picture which we in common with Liverpool citizens in general should cherish as a priceless treasure, are borne out by facts, it will be for you to judge.

As to the man himself—who was he? Where did he come from? Had he descendants? What circumstances led to his portrait being hung here? These and similar questions passed through my mind.

I knew that his name stood first on the inscribed list of Presidents, which, formerly placed in the Council-room, now adorns the Library. I had learnt from the lease enquiry that he had taken an active part in the negotiations which resulted in the lease of the land from the Corporation, that his name appeared first in the list of Trustees accepting the obligation to erect on the land "a Building for the Medical Library and "Pathological Museum, with apartments for holding Meetings "of Medical Men, for the delivery of Lectures and for the "residence of a Librarian,"¹ and that he had been the largest individual subscriber to the building fund. I knew also that he had taken the chair and delivered an address at the opening of the building, and finally that on his death he had devised to the Institution one of the most valuable collections of minerals in existence.

But I felt I knew literally nothing of the man who had accomplished so much for the medical profession, and I determined to learn all that was to be learnt about him. The resolution was easily made, but the task has been arduous. Though I have devoted every hour I could spare, I have not

¹ Lease, 1835.

succeeded in collecting sufficient material to write his "Life," as was my original intention. Indeed, I feel I owe you an apology for entitling this paper "A Historical Sketch." It implies too much. "A Fragmentary Sketch" would better describe it.

Some philosophical writer has said that "truth lies at the bottom of a well," but he failed to indicate the precise locality in which this much-to-be-desired well is to be found.

Naturally, I turned for information in the first place to the treasures of our own Library, only to find that these springs of knowledge were dry. And yet, in this very building, seventy-two years ago, Dr Jeffreys, in moving a vote of thanks to Dr Rutter for his address at the opening of this building, ended his eloquent appreciation of his services by saying that he had ensured for himself "a lasting memorial of respect and gratitude," and "had done enough to make himself immortal in our own locality." So much for deathless fame!

Fortunately, the address itself exists, thanks to a Dr Bryce, who suggested the printing and circulating of the address among the profession generally, and its perusal by the members of the Town Council and civilians who had contributed largely to the erection of the building.

Application next at the literary centres—the Lyceum, the Athenæum, and the Public Library—for any history or biography of him also ended in disappointment, and it looked as if my resolution would not be carried out. I could not, however, divest myself of the feeling that a man capable of conceiving and carrying to completion such a large and far-reaching scheme as this building then represented, could not have been allowed to pass away without some recognition on the part of those with whom he had lived and worked.

I therefore devoted my spare hours to the Public Library, in the hope that I might find from publications at the time of his death a clue to where the record of his life lay hidden, and, failing that, to glean from contemporary periodicals and newspapers some of the facts of his everyday life. Fortu-

nately, the conditions of his day were conducive to medical men taking a more active part in public matters than they can with impunity take to-day, and I am happy to say my search did not go entirely unrewarded.¹

A fourth possible source of information was unknowingly suggested at the last annual meeting of this Institution. One of our oldest and most respected members, criticising a paragraph of thanks, remarked that it was the custom to reserve such until after death.

I felt grateful for the reminder, and at once sought the Trustees' Minute-book, expecting to find recorded there an expression of the opinions of his co-trustees as to his worth and achievements. Alas! for once, at least, the custom had been neglected, and in the person of the best friend the medical profession of Liverpool ever had.

My next and most productive source of information was indirectly derived through our resident Librarian, Mr Jones, who referred me to four remarkable articles entitled "Historical Notes on Medicine, Surgery, and Quackery," *Lancet*, 1897, vol. i. These are of absorbing interest to anyone wanting information about the early medical history of Liverpool.

From them I learned that Dr Rutter was a member of the Society of Friends, a body in which method is an integral part of religion, and to this most fortunate circumstance I owe it that I have been able to learn anything of his parentage, his birthplace, and his connections.

My indebtedness to the Society of Friends, not only in Liverpool, but in distant places where it has been necessary to prosecute inquiries, is profound. The unfailing courtesy and readiness with which the many members of that Society have met my inquiries were a revelation. Time, books, manuscripts, and helpful suggestions were at my disposal for the asking, and I would here acknowledge with gratitude their unstinted service.

¹ For courteous assistance I am much indebted to the Lyceum, Athenæum, and Public Library authorities.

It is always a matter of interest to know something of the family to which any distinguished individual belongs, and a glance at the genealogical chart¹ will show that the records placed in my hands by the Society of Friends have enabled me to trace the Rutter family back to 1661—the reign of Charles II.

In that year was born Thomas Rutter, and in 1691 he married at Franley, near Warrington, Rachel, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Ashbrook of Frodsham. His occupation, as given on the marriage certificate, was that of a blacksmith, and his place of residence, Middlewich, Cheshire.

Within the last month I have received most interesting information, which may be a clue to Dr Rutter's family history. A Mr George Rutter Fletcher, of London, writes me as follows:—

“The great probability is that Dr John Rutter of Liverpool descended from the Rutters of Kingsley Hall, in the parish of Frodsham, Cheshire, as many of the younger branches settled in Lancashire, among others the ancestors of Samuel Rutter, Bishop of Man; but this it would be impossible to prove unless you have materials for searching *upwards* from Dr Rutter for several generations, when you might possibly hit upon the connection. The downfall of the Rutters came with the Civil War.² They were strong Royalists; and their losses and sufferings, as depicted in the ‘Royalist Composition Papers’ at the Public Record Office, form a most interesting and graphic story.

“In an inquisition as to the charities of Frodsham, dated 31st March 1640, given in Helsby's ed. of Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, vol. ii. p. 59, a bequest by Robert Ashbrooke, late of *Kingsley*, within the county of Frodsham, of £10 is mentioned.

“In a MS. book of ‘All the hearths and stoves within the Several Hundreds of the County and City of Chester,’ four Ashbrooks (under various spelling) appear in the parish of Frodsham (one, Ralph, living at *Kingsley*) as being liable to the hearth tax. There can therefore be no doubt that they were well acquainted with the Rutters of Kingsley Hall; and there is every probability that the Thomas Rutter

¹ *Vide* page 52.

² Another correspondent says: “disinherited for faith's sake.”

“ born 1661, and married at Franley, nr. Warrington, 1699,
 “ to Rachel, d. of Richard and Elizabeth Ashbrook of Frods-
 “ ham, was of the same stock as the Rutters of Kingsley Hall.”

Should investigation verify this supposition, I shall hope to add a short note. To resume :

They, Thomas and Rachel, had eleven children—Deborah, Thomas, Nathaniel, Benjamin, Joseph, Daniel, Elizabeth, Mary, Ann, Beviah, Elizabeth. Joseph, born at Chester in 1700, married, 4th January 1724, at Cow Lane, Chester, Sarah, daughter of John Somerford of Warrington. They had seven children—Rachel, Thomas, Joseph, John, Sarah, Benjamin, Samuel.

These children were born some at Chester some at Boughton. Later their parents—Joseph and Sarah—came to reside in Liverpool, for in “ The Poll for the election of Members of
 “ Parliament for the Borough and Corporation of Liverpool,
 “ taken between Sir William Meredith, Baronet, Sir Ellis
 “ Cunliffe, Baronet, and Charles Pole, Esq., begun and held in
 “ the Exchange of the said Town, on Tuesday the 31st day
 “ of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven
 “ hundred and sixty-one, before the Worshipful John Black-
 “ burne, Esq., Mayor, William Gregson and Robert Armitage,
 “ Junior, Gentlemen, Bailiffs of the said Borough and Corpora-
 “ tion. Printed by John Sadler for John Sibbald, Bookseller
 “ in Castle Street,”¹ appear the names of the Freemen of Liver-
 pool, and among them are those of Joseph Rutter, chandler ;
 Thomas Rutter, chandler ; and John Rutter, timber merchant.

We also learn from it that Joseph, the father, voted on the fourth day, and lived in Fenwick Street, while his sons John and Thomas voted on the fifth day. John’s address is given as Duke Street and Thomas’s, Fenwick Street—probably living with his father. I have been unable to ascertain anything more of him—Joseph—beyond these facts, that he was a tallow-chandler—a most important business in those early days, when “ the principal manufacturers were chiefly

¹ *Vide* Liverpool Public Library.



Thy Affectionate Father
W^m Rathbone

WILLIAM RATHBONE (1726-1789).

“ confined to what is necessary to the construction and equipment of ships,” privateering, slave-trade, etc., died 1766, mo. 2, day 11, age 65, and was buried at the Quaker cemetery.

His widow, Sarah, according to Gore, continued the business in Fenwick Street for the next three years. She must have been a sensible woman, from the fact that her husband left her his money and effects for her lifetime, making her and William Rathbone his executors.

Joseph Rutter's name does not appear in the first *Liverpool Directory*, published in 1766; that of his son Thomas Rutter does, as “ painter, Hanover Street.” As the estimated number of houses was then 6000, and the *Directory* only contains 1134 names, the omission is not surprising. His will (of which I have a copy), executed eleven days before his death, proves him to have been living in Fenwick Street at that time and following his business.

Of their children I have been unable to trace Joseph, Benjamin, and Samuel. John died unmarried 1763, mo. 1, day 20, aged 25. He was the writer of a curious dream,¹ to be found in the Nicholson MSS. (Friends' Meeting House, Hunter Street), which was printed seventy-six years after his decease in the *Irish Friend*, Belfast, mo. 3, day 1, 1839 (p. 24).

Sarah also appears to have predeceased her parents, and to have died unmarried. Rachel married, 1750, mo. 11, day 22, the William Rathbone, the third of his line, whose name appears in the Poll Book before mentioned, as timber merchant, Duke Street, the great-great-grandfather of the present generation, and had three children, William, Sarah, who married Mr Robert Benson, and Elizabeth. Whether any of the characteristics which distinguished the subject of this paper are in any degree traceable to the influence of the alliance between the Rutter and Rathbone families, my hearers must decide.²

¹ See Appendix I., p. 53.

² The illustrations of Dr Rutter's uncle and cousin—Plates II. and III.—are reproduced from *William Rathbone: A Memoir*, by permission of Miss Eleanor Rathbone and Messrs Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

The history of the Rathbone family is inseparable from all that is best in the history of Liverpool, and it would be difficult to find any movement having for its object the elevation and progress of all sections of the community, from the abolition of slavery to votes for women, in which the Rathbone family have not taken a leading part. Until the last generation they were connected with the Society of Friends, and took their share in the testimony by that earnest fraternity against slavery, war, ecclesiastical exactions, and in the penalties arising therefrom.

Of William Rathbone, the husband of Rachel Rutter, Clarkson, in his book on the abolition of the African slave-trade, says:—"He had always the courage to dare to do that which was right, however much it might resist the customs or the prejudices of men"; and Miss Eleanor Rathbone writes:—

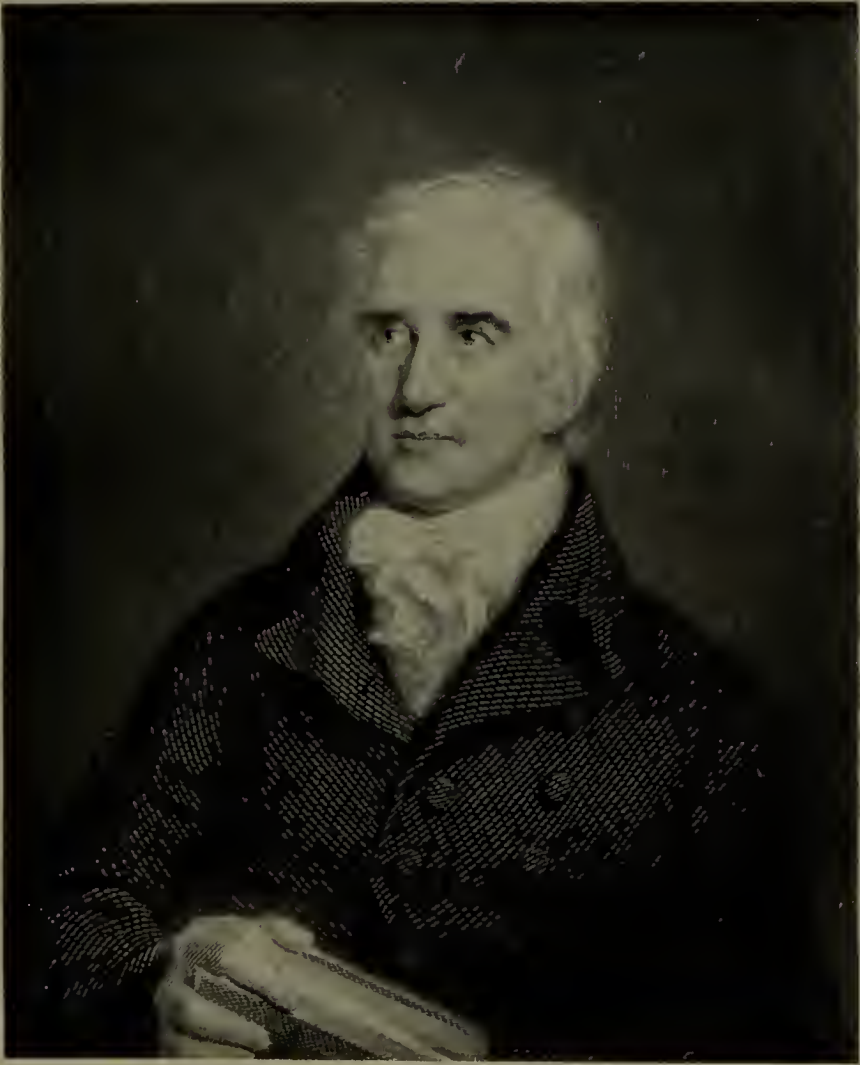
"Two of his sayings which have come down to his descendants are fair specimens of the vein of humour that belongs to his type.

"He used to tell how, when he was just grown up, an old Quaker lady, an elder in the Society, said to him: 'William, thou art a man now. Thou wilt be thinking of taking a wife. Now, do thou look out for a wife with a natural good-temper. Religion comes and goes, but a natural good-temper is there always.'

"Another time he had lent his horse to a friend to attend the Quarterly Meeting in Shropshire. When it was brought home, the lender asked: 'Sam, didst thou see my horse fed?' 'No,' was the reply. 'I told the man to feed him, and I paid him for feeding him, but I did not see him do it.' 'Ah,' said the old Quaker, 'thou shouldst have seen it done. Remember, Sam, men are saved by faith in the next world, but by the want of it in this.'"

But of all their good actions, that of Rachel Rutter's son,¹ in raising his voice against the traffic in "black ivory" as it was called, at a time when the slave-trade was bringing a profit of

¹ Plate III.



WILLIAM RATHBONE (1757-1809).

£200,000 to £300,000 a year into the port of Liverpool, distinguishes him as one of the most notable men of that age.

It is related of him (*Memoir of William Rathbone*, by Miss E. R. Rathbone, p. 27) that “when to the offence of opposing the slave-trade he added that of denouncing the war,¹ he became so unpopular with his well-to-do neighbours, that a physician attending an illness in the family asked leave to pay his visits after nightfall, explaining candidly that it would injure his practice for his carriage to be seen standing at William Rathbone’s door.”

The only two Liverpool names which appear on the first list of abolitionists were those of William Rathbone and Dr Jonathan Binns, both members of the Society of Friends; the latter being also an original member of the Liverpool Medical Library. As the facts concerning the gentleman whose portrait hangs before you are recounted, the thought may occur that perhaps this Institution also owes to the Rathbone influence more than has hitherto been dreamt of in the philosophy of Liverpool medical men.

Thomas was the eldest son of Joseph and Sarah Rutter. He was born in 1733. The Poll Book above mentioned (1761) gives his calling as that of tallow-chandler, and his address Fenwick Street. In that year, 20th August 1761, he married at Wigton, Mary Brownsword, daughter of John and Jane (or Jael) Brownsword of Wigton, an old Cumberland family.

From the form of the record of the marriage it would almost appear as if she joined the Society of Friends at the time of her marriage. To what address he brought his bride I have not been able to ascertain. Three children were born to them—John, the doctor, 23rd August 1762, probably so named after his uncle (of the curious dream), and two other sons, both named Joseph, who died in infancy.

When young John was in his sixth year his father, Thomas Rutter, died (5th July 1768) at the early age of

¹ Attempt by European Powers to re-establish the monarchy in France.

thirty-five, in James Street, and from the obituary announcement it would appear that he had added the business of a painter to that of tallow-chandler.

His late father's business was still conducted by his mother, Sarah Rutter, in Fenwick Street.

Young John, now nearly six years of age, would have to care for him, his mother Mary Rutter, his grandmother Sarah Rutter, who died in the following year, 1769, mo. 7, day 8, aged 65, and his uncle by marriage, William Rathbone; but from this date, I regret to say, all trace of him is lost for ten years. It may be that he remained in Liverpool, and was brought up by his uncle William Rathbone, or, it is equally possible, his mother may have taken him back to her family at Wigton, for ten years later (19th November 1788) she married at Allonby, in Cumberland, Thomas Wilkinson of Wigton. John Rutter would then be sixteen years of age.

Interesting proof of the cordial relations between young Rutter and his mother's husband exists in an inscription on the flyleaf of one of his books presented to the Liverpool Medical Library. It reads:—"John Rutter's Booke, July 3rd, 1779. E dono Thos. Wilkinson sui charissimi soceri ad Johannem Rutterum, tertio die Januarii Anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo septuagesimo nono."

Translation:—"A gift of Thomas Wilkinson, his very dear father-in-law, to John Rutter, the third day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine."

At the end of the same book is to be found the following and very interesting inscription:—"John Rutter's Book. Hic nomen pono, quia librum perdere nolo."

Translation:—"Here I place the name because I do not wish to lose the book."

The title of the book, *The Anatomy of the Human Body*, by James Keill, M.D., presented by his stepfather to him, is satisfactory evidence that the intention to enter the medical profession was even then—he was in his sixteenth year—

already fixed. No address is given, so his whereabouts remains a mystery.

The next fact about him is that he was present at the Union Coffee Rooms in Mount Pleasant when the Medical Library was publicly instituted, for his name appears in the list of those mentioned in the Minutes of that meeting (Oct. 7, 1779). It is difficult to understand how he came to be present at such a meeting on any other ground than that he was an apprentice to a Liverpool medical man, for he was only seventeen years of age, and as we shall see later, his Alma Mater was Edinburgh.

Once more all trace of him is lost, this time for four years, until 1783, when a book again provides the source of knowledge. The inscription in it is—"John Rutter, Edinburgh, 1783."

The title of the work is:—"Aphorismi de Cognoscendis et Curandis Morbis. In usum Doctrinæ Domesticæ Digesti, ab Hermanno Boerhaave. Editio Leyden s'is quinta auctio."

Application to the Dean of Edinburgh University for information concerning his residence in Edinburgh was unavailing, but application to the Society of Friends in Edinburgh resulted in the finding of the following Minute:—

"Edinburgh Monthly Meeting, 6th of ye 3d mo. 1785."
(Extract).

"Received also a certificate on behalf of John Rutter from Hardshaw Monthly Meeting in Lancashire, dated 21st of 10th mo. 1783."

This Minute is valuable as showing, first, that he was a member of the Society of Friends in Liverpool, not Wigton, and therefore must have been resident in Liverpool; second, that he was twenty-one years of age before he entered upon a systematic medical course at the Scottish capital. Probably the period (1779–1783) covers his apprenticeship days, during which he would presumably be under the influence of his uncle, William Rathbone.

His mother, now a widow—for her second husband, Thomas

Wilkinson, died a few months after marriage—was at this time living at Wigton with her little daughter, Jane Wilkinson, who was seventeen years younger than her half-brother, John Rutter.

After a three-years' residence in Edinburgh, of which nothing is known, and when twenty-four years of age, he published his "thesis" in Latin, which obtained for him his degree of M.D. in the University of Edinburgh. A presentation copy of this thesis is fortunately still in our library. The title-page, as translated by my friend Dr Barendt will be found opposite.

The "thesis" was dedicated:—

To his Maternal Uncle

WILLIAM BROWNSWORD

Lawyer in Cumberland, a man of most upright life,

Greeting

JOHN RUTTER

Since you, my very dear relative, have conferred upon me so many and so great benefits, let this little work, the first of my studies, be inscribed in your name as a sign of a grateful mind

Edinburgh, The Ides of June, 7th day, 1786
(June 25th)

which suggests that his maternal uncle had made himself responsible for his medical education, a notion all the more credible from the fact that on this gentleman's death he left the bulk of his fortune to his nephew John, whom he also made his executor.

After graduating, a further Minute shows that he returned to Liverpool:—

"Edinburgh Monthly Meeting, the 2nd of 7th month, 1786:
"—John Rutter and Caspar Winter having at some time made application for Certificates of removal, the former into Hardshaw Meeting in Lancashire: the latter into Horsley-down Meeting, London, the above-mentioned Friends

INAUGURAL MEDICAL DISSERTATION
ON
PHTHISIS PULMONALIS
ARISING FROM TUBERCLE

Which with the approval of the Highest Authorities by the
permission of the most Reverend

D. WILLIAM ROBERTSON, SS., T.P.

Prefect of the University of Edinburgh,
and with the consent of the most August Academic Senate and by
decree of the most illustrious Faculty of Medicine,

JOHN RUTTER

submits this Thesis which obtained for him the Degree of Doctor,
carrying with it the highest honours and privileges,
to the critical examination of the erudite

ENGLISHMAN

HONORARY FELLOW OF THE
SOCIETY OF PHYSICIANS OF EDINBURGH, AND ANNUAL PRESIDENT
EXTRAORDINARY FELLOW OF THE ROYAL MEDICAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH
also

FELLOW OF THE NATURE STUDENTS' SOCIETY

June 24th, at the usual hour and place

EDINBURGH

BALFOUR AND SMELLIE, PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY

1786

“(William and George Miller) are also requested to prepare
 “such Certificates for them as after inquiry they may appear
 “entitled to, and bring them to the adjournment to be there
 “approved and signed.”

At the adjournment, 9th day of 7th month, 1786:—

“Certificates for Caspar Winter and Jno. Rutter at same
 time read and signed.”

By those unfamiliar with the procedure of the Society of
 Friends, the entire significance of such “certificates” may not
 be quite realised. “Certificates were only granted after inquiry
 as to conduct and respecting debts.”

The next mention of him occurs in the private diary of
 Hannah Mary Reynolds, daughter of Richard Reynolds, “the
 philanthropist,” of Ketley Bank, near Shifnal, Shropshire.
 This diary, entitled *Reynolds-Rathbone Diaries and Letters*,
 1778 to 1839, edited by Mrs Eustace Greg, was printed for
 private circulation only. The entry in the Diary the day
 before her wedding is —

“August 16, 1786, Wednesday. Monthly Meeting. A large
 “company at dinner, chiefly relations. Drank tea at home
 “etc. Went to Salop with W. and E. R., Wm. R. my brother,
 “J. Rutter and I. Parry met us at the ‘Talbot’ and suped
 “with us.”

John—now Dr—Rutter had evidently gone down to attend
 the wedding of his cousin William Rathbone, which took place
 at the Quaker Meeting-house at Shrewsbury, and it is certain
 he returned to Liverpool, for her diary, now written at her
 Liverpool home in Liver Street, records:—

“Aug. 21. J. Rutter came in the morning and sat with us
 to receive company.’

The last time his name appears in the Diary for the year
 1786 is 7th October, and we learn, again from the Edinburgh
 Minutes, that during that winter he went to London:—

“Edinburgh Monthly Meeting, 21st day of 12 mo. 1786:—
 “The Certificates formerly granted from Edinburgh Monthly
 “Meeting to John Rutter late student of Physick here appearing

“to have miscarried, one similar thereto was now read and signed addressed to friends of Gracechurch Street Mo. Meeting and ordered to be transmitted by the clerk to John Rutter.”

The fact that such a certificate was required indicates that a prolonged stay was contemplated, but beyond the fact that he is mentioned in the diary as having called—5th March 1787—upon his cousin and wife when they visited London, I have been unable to ascertain either the object or the length of his residence in London or any fact concerning him in that year, viz. 1787.

We do know that fifteen months later, January 1788, he was settled in practice in Liverpool, for the diary of Mrs Rathbone for that year commences as follows:—

“Monday, 21st January.—The child had convulsions in the night. Dr Rutter called in. Rode out behind W. R. The child several fits in the evening.”

“Tuesday 22nd.—The child had a fit every hour till 9 o’clock in the morning. The first thing Dr Rutter ordered for him was Rhubarb and Magnesia, with 4 drops of Laudanum, repeated 3 hours after. When in the convulsion he was put in a warm bath, four leaches were applied to his ancles, and the wounds suffered to bleed many hours. He has since taken rhubarb and magnesia every day.”

We do not know the doctor’s weight nor that of his cousin, but the custom for two men to ride one horse was evidently still in vogue, and not contrary to the bye-laws governing the conduct of an Edinburgh physician.

From this time—1788—onwards his name is continually mentioned in the diary. He was on the most intimate and affectionate terms with his cousins of the Rathbone family, and in addition his medical services were highly respected and valued by them.

Where he resided between 1788 and 1790 is not known, for an edition of *Gore’s Directory* was not published between

1781 and 1790, but in the latter year the name of Dr Rutter appears for the first time—his residence 9 Church Street.

No *Directory* was issued between 1790 and 1796, but in the latter year he was living at 43 Bold Street;¹ in 1800 at No. 27 St Anne Street, then the fashionable quarter of the town, and during the next thirty-nine years changed his residence in that street no less than three times—Nos. 9 (1805); 15 (1814); and 19 (1832).

Of his private life during this long period we know very little. We get an occasional glimpse of him in the pages of diaries kept by his relatives and friends. I have been able to ascertain sufficient of his public professional life to reveal him as one of the master minds of our profession, but of his private professional life I have learnt very little.

He early showed his leaning to literary pursuits by joining in his first year of settlement in practice, 1788, the Liverpool Library, then situated in Lord Street, paying a joining fee of five guineas, indicating also that he was a man of some means. In the following year, 12th May 1789, he was elected Vice-president, and in the year after, 10th May 1790, he succeeded William Roscoe as President. He would then be twenty-seven years of age.

I have no explanation to offer for this rapid advancement other than that he was a man of exceptional powers and ability. William Roscoe, who joined the Committee of the Library in 1776, was not made President until 1789, a lapse of thirteen years; whereas Rutter, whose membership only dates from 1788, becomes its President within three years. Members of the medical profession who know the history of the building in which we are now assembled, may recognise in his rapid advancement a tribute to high business capacity and courteous bearing.

The Liverpool Library possesses a framed lithographed sketch of Dr Rutter in his later days. Attached to the frame is a card which gives the interesting information that it is a

¹ I have since learnt that in 1792 he was residing in Bold Street.

“sketch by W. G. Herdman.” Dr Rutter remained a subscribing member for thirty-seven years.

His advancement in professional reputation was no less rapid. There were at that period but two medical charities in Liverpool—the Liverpool Infirmary and the Liverpool Dispensary. Attached to each were originally three physicians, three surgeons, and an apothecary. The positions were honorary, and in professional and public circles were then of equal rank and distinction.

The premier charity (in point of age) did, however, possess advantages which might not be recognised at the present time. It was situated in a rural district, Lime Street, and it possessed “a large and useful garden, walled round and kept “in good order, which supplied the patients with esculent and “physical plants.”

On the other hand, the Dispensary was more central, Church Street, hence the books belonging to the Medical Library, formerly kept at the Infirmary, were removed to the Dispensary, because more convenient to the subscribers.

Among the list of physicians to the Dispensary for the year 1792 we find the name of Dr Rutter. In sequence of time his appointment was made when he was twenty-nine years of age; about seven months after the termination of his Presidency of the Liverpool Library, and when he had barely completed a four-years' residence as a private practitioner. Some particulars of the charity to which he was so long attached may not be without interest.

The Dispensary,¹ opened 31st August 1778, was established “with a view of administering medicines and advice to such “persons in the hour of sickness who might be unable in “consequence of their poverty to obtain relief” (*Liverpool*, by Smithers, 1825, p. 237). “The business was transacted for a few years in a small rented house,” in John Street, now

¹ “The parish allowed one hundred guineas annually towards the expenses of this charity, the rent being defrayed by voluntary subscriptions” (*Medical Register*, 1780, p. 109).

North John Street, with an entrance from Princes Street, “but the great increase of patients rendered a larger building necessary” (*Medical Register*, 1783, p. 79):

In the first seven months—31st August 1778 to 25th March 1779—2062 patients were seen (Brooks, *Liverpool*, p. 364). In the following twelve months—March 1779 to March 1780—the number was 3748 (*Medical Register*, 1780, p. 110), while “at the end of the fourth year there had been seen 37,580, chiefly such as were excluded by the rules of the Infirmary from admission there as in-patients. Among these is included a number of difficult cases in midwifery which are attended by the surgeons to this Charity” (*Medical Register*, 1783, p. 79).

The importance of an appointment to the Dispensary will be still further recognised from the fact that “The Blue Coat Hospital, the Borough Gaol, the House of Correction, the Lock Hospital, and the Workhouse, a spacious building which at present contains upwards of 800 patients, are all attended by the physicians and surgeons of the Dispensary” (*Medical Register*, 1783, p. 79).

The new Dispensary,¹ opened in 1782, was in Church Street, to the east of St Peter’s Church, and at the corner of what is now Post Office Place. It is described as “a decent eligible brick fabric with a convenient circular portico, in the front is a small bas-relief of the good Samaritan, well executed but placed too high to gratify the inspecting eye of the observer” (Wallace’s *History of Liverpool*, 1795, p. 164).

As stated before, the charity was at first conducted by three physicians, three surgeons and one apothecary, but owing to the large increase in work (patients admitted in the year 1791=14,121; patients admitted since the Dispensary was opened, 31st August 1778 to 1st January 1792=141,972) the appointment of four additional physicians was suggested at the Annual Meeting in 1792.

Such an addition to the staff of any medical charity would naturally rouse opposition. The cause of the addition is

¹ Plate IV.



LIVERPOOL DISPENSARY, CHURCH STREET, 1782.



THE THEATRE TAVERN IS THE HOUSE ON THE EXTREME LEFT.

interesting—four physicians then were cheaper than one apothecary! and the fact was stated with brutal frankness. The following statement is taken from the press of that day (*Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser and Marine Intelligencer*, Monday, 9th January 1792, price threepence-halfpenny):—

“ At the Annual Meeting of the subscribers it was stated
 “ that the business of the Dispensary had so much increased
 “ of late years in consequence of the great increase of labour-
 “ ing poor, that the Apothecary was no longer able to sustain
 “ the weight of business that pressed upon him, and it was
 “ proposed that an additional Apothecary should be appointed
 “ to assist him in the duties of his office. But as it appeared
 “ that such an additional appointment would load the Institu-
 “ tion with a certain additional annual expenditure of £60
 “ . . . it was immediately suggested that an additional
 “ appointment of physicians would more effectually promote
 “ the purposes of the Institution, without entailing the least
 “ additional expense on the charity.”

Dr Rutter's application (*Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser and Marine Intelligencer*, Monday, 9th January, 1792, p. 2, col. 5, par. 10) reads as follows:—

“ To the Governors of the Liverpool Dispensary.

“ The probability of a vacancy for one or more additional
 “ Physicians to the Dispensary (in consequence of the proceed-
 “ ings of the Annual Board held yesterday) induces Dr Rutter
 “ to offer his services to the Governors of that Institution, and
 “ he will think himself happy by being honoured with their
 “ support on the occasion.

“ BOLD STREET, 5 Jan. 1792.”

His application was successful, as were also those of Dr McCartney of Ranelagh Street, Dr Gill of Clayton Square, and Dr Renwick of Duke Street. After the election the medical staff comprised:—

<i>Surgeons.</i>	<i>Physicians.</i>	<i>Physicians newly appointed.</i>
Mr Richard Blundell.	Dr Jonathan Binns.	Dr John Rutter.
Mr Edward Alcock.	Dr James Worthington.	Dr John M'Cartney.
Mr George Stavert.	Dr Henry Stanistreet.	Dr Thomas Gill.
		Dr Thomas Renwick.

How long Dr Rutter remained on the staff I cannot trace. His name appears regularly down to and including 1804. Between that year and 1821, Annual Reports are not available, and in the latter year his name does not appear. The Dispensary does not possess a Minute-book prior to 1819, and as his name is not found in the Minutes for that year, he must have retired some time between 1804 and 1819.

With the large field for practical work which this appointment afforded, it is not surprising that Dr Rutter, with his mental endowments and Edinburgh training, became, to quote a Liverpool historian, "a celebrated physician of his day" and "deservedly esteemed for many years as a sound and sagacious physician."

But of his personal experience of the practice of medicine little can be discovered, and although the period we have now reached in his history was but the commencement of a long professional career, it will be convenient to relate here the very few facts known concerning his private professional life and writings. A solitary instance of the method of treatment of that day in which he participated is given in the *Reynolds-Rathbone Diaries and Letters* before mentioned.

- " Feb. 21st. H. very ill, fever high, cough bad, pain in her side, difficult breathing, etc. Sent for Dr Rutter, who ordered her to be put in warm water, take antimonial wine, etc. She lay in bed all day, and Dr Rutter came again in the evening.
- " Feb. 27th. Emetic.
- " Mar. 3rd. Emetic.
- " Mar. 6th. Eruption full out.
- " Mar. 7th. Put in warm water.
- " Mar. 8th. Leeches applied twice to foot; vinegar of squills, blister on back.
- " Mar. 10th. So bad that doctor called four times. Given strawberries, James' powder, warm water poured over her, feet and hands bathed with vinegar. Evidently worse.

- “ Mar. 11th. Dr Currie called twice. James’ powder every three hours, sponged all over with vinegar.
- “ Mar. 12th. Thought her very ill. Two more leeches. Left off J. powder.
- “ Mar. 13th. Calomel; blister on side. Dr C. twice.
- “ Mar. 14th. The blister did not rise well and could not be taken off. Shrimps: cold beef for supper.
- “ Mar. 18th. Strawberries: emetic.
- “ Mar. 19th. Very ill indeed.
- “ Mar. 23rd. Calomel; laudanum.
- “ Mar. 24th. Carried in coach to Greenbank.
- “ Mar. 25th. Not one hope of her recovery.
- “ Mar. 26th. Carried into garden.
- “ Mar. 30th. Cream and gravey. No doctor to-day.”
(She got better.)

The power which centuries of custom and tradition, in the absence of accurate knowledge, exerted on men in every other respect giants in shrewdness and keenly alive to the necessity for progress, is nowhere better exemplified than in the spectacle of a little child of four, suffering from measles, being treated by emetics, baths, leeches, blisters, shrimps and cold beef!

One must be careful not to criticise hesitation to abandon the traditions and customs of preceding ages, which looked upon illness as the work of malevolent spirits. The want of enlightenment in this respect is, to my mind, not more remarkable than is the almost universal belief in the efficacy of alcohol to preserve, promote, and restore health.

With the exception of his “thesis,” written when twenty-four years of age, the only medical writings traceable solely to his pen are two in number: they appeared in the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, the first in 1808, when he was forty-six, on “The History of a Case of Hysteralgia,”¹ the second in the following year, on “An Account of a Case of Erythemia not occasioned by Mercury.”² Both these cases had been read before the Medical Society of Liverpool.

No record of this Medical Society of Liverpool can be

¹ Vol. iv. p. 168 (1808).

² Vol. v. p. 143 (1809).

found, nor is any information available as to its place of meeting, its constitution, or its membership. It is not known when it came into being, but it appears to have come to an end prior to March 1813, for in the Council Minutes of the Medical Library, March 1813, a Mr M'Culloch "states that " he had a sum of money in his hands which had belonged to " the late Medical Society of this Town." It must not be confounded with the Liverpool Medical Society, established in 1833.

The "thesis," the treatment of the little child and the "reports" of two cases, constitute the sum total of our knowledge of Dr Rutter's professional life and writings during fifty-two years of medical practice.

One other medical publication bearing his name jointly with that of others is in existence. It appeared in 1808, and is entitled "A Vindication of the Opinions delivered in Evidence by the Medical Witnesses for the Crown on a late Trial in Lancaster for Murder." Dr Rutter did not give evidence. This murder trial was the *cause célèbre* of that day.

A Liverpool gentleman, Mr Charles Angus—an original member of the Athenæum, membership of which in those days was the "hall mark" of a man's social standing—was accused of murder by poisoning. Dr Rutter was desired by the Liverpool coroner to take with him an experienced surgeon to the house of Mr Angus in St Anne Street, there to examine the body of a young lady who had died suddenly. The result of the medical examination led to the trial for murder.

Some points connected with the trial may be of interest to-day. Though the murder took place in Liverpool, the trial was held at Lancaster. It commenced at eight o'clock on Friday morning, 2nd September 1808, and lasted till about half-past three on Saturday morning.

From the nature of the crime laid to the charge of the prisoner, the law at that time denied the prisoner the assistance of an advocate to speak in his defence. The fact that Dr Rutter was a Quaker precluded his evidence being accepted.

In ordinary circumstances he would have been the principal

medical witness, but was not called by the prosecution, because he objected to taking an oath.

“Q. (Put to Dr Gerard) ‘Dr Rutter, I believe, is a Quaker, is he not?’

“A. ‘Yes.’

“Q. Mr Holroyd (one of the counsel for the Crown), ‘My Lord, I’m only asking this to explain why we do not call Dr Rutter.’

“Q. Dr Rutter applied to you to go, did he not, on that very account?’

“A. ‘Yes.’

“Q. ‘Upon account of his religious scruples with regard to an oath he applied to you?’

“A. ‘Yes.’”

While the Act by which Quakers were first allowed to affirm instead of taking an oath was passed in 1696, six years after the General Toleration Act which relieved Nonconformists generally from some but not all of their liabilities to persecution in religious matters, it was not till the year 1833 that the affirmation of a Quaker in lieu of an oath could be accepted in criminal cases.

The opinions of his colleagues—Dr James Gerard, Dr Bostock (physicians), and Mr Thomas Fairfax Hay (surgeon)—failed to convince the jury, who, after a few minutes’ deliberation, returned a verdict of “Not Guilty.” Hence the “Vindication of Opinions.” Anyone reading to-day the evidence given at the trial would have no difficulty in seeing that the verdict arrived at by the jury was the correct one.

It will at once be conceded that there is no documentary evidence on which to found a claim that Dr Rutter was even a successful physician, let alone a great physician, though such we take him to have been, unless the total absence of all record of his opinions on medical subjects was deliberate, in which case his greatness as a profound thinker is the more assured.

Who would to-day turn to the writings of the physicians of the eighteenth century for information as to the causation and

treatment of disease? "The theory of medicine did not contain the essential principles of a science until within the last quarter of a century."

As will be seen later, Dr Rutter's pen was not idle or ineffective when required to illuminate an idea the development of which, in his judgment, was a necessity. He was a creative genius, and, once convinced that a thing was needed, he could bring all his powers to bear on the attainment of that particular object. His language was clear and concise, his arguments logical and practical, and we may, I think, conclude that a possible explanation of the absence of contributions from him to medical literature was his recognition of the absence of accurate knowledge concerning the causation of disease, rendering treatment one of pure empiricism. Seeing patients recover under any form of treatment, or no treatment at all, must to his practical mind have constituted an effectual bar to any attempt to explain what he did not understand.

The following apologue made by a physician—a man of wit and philosophy—represents the state of medical science at this period. "Nature," says he, "is fighting with the disease; a blind man armed with a club—that is, the physician—comes to settle the difference. He first tries to make peace; when he cannot accomplish this, he lifts his club and strikes at random. If he strikes the disease, he kills disease; if he strikes Nature, he kills Nature."

The claim that Dr Rutter has on posterity does not depend on his medical knowledge, however much that may have been ahead of his time—it lies outside the practice of medicine. It was in recognising and advocating the means by which progress is alone possible, viz. education and co-operation, that Dr Rutter pre-eminently shone.

Is it generally known that to the exertions of Dr Rutter and of a Mr Thomas Taylor, Liverpool owes the Athenæum? As the part taken by them in promoting its establishment has in some quarters been entirely overlooked—Picton, in his *Memorials of Liverpool*, 1873, omitting in this connection

even the mention of their names—it will be a simple act of justice to recall the facts. They are as follows :—

A Mr Edward Rogers of this town, having brought to the notice of Dr Rutter and Mr Taylor the existence of a certain establishment in Newcastle-on-Tyne, they determined to ascertain whether a “news-room combined with a library” could not be founded here in Liverpool. They—Dr Rutter and Mr Taylor—first selected the site upon which the Athenæum was subsequently erected. Mr Taylor then obtained plans from Mr John Foster for a building suitable for this site, while Dr Rutter “drew up a prospectus explaining the particular objects and purposes of the proposed institution.”

They then invited four gentlemen to meet them—Mr William Roscoe, Dr Currie, Mr Joshua Lacey, and Mr William Clarke. The meeting took place on 22nd November 1797, at the Theatre Tavern, Williamson Square. (The tavern adjoined the theatre. The illustration¹ is taken from *The Theatre Tourist*, published 1805, p. 50. Public Lib. No. F.Q. 605.)

The scheme met with cordial approval. The plan and elevation were examined and approved. Dr Rutter’s prospectus was read and approved. The meeting was an informal one, neither Minutes nor resolution being taken or passed; but the meeting directed that five hundred copies of Dr Rutter’s prospectus² should be immediately printed, and posted to the principal inhabitants of the town, in order to ascertain how far public support could be calculated upon.

The success of the enterprise was immediate. The first formal meeting “of the subscribers to an intended Library and News Room” was held a week later—27th November, 1797—“at the Council Chamber in Brunswick Street.” The building was opened 1st January 1799.

The number of subscribers was at first limited to 350 at ten guineas each, and the next year (1799) 75 more were admitted

¹ Plate IV.

² See Appendix II., p. 54. The only known existing original copy is in the “Minute Book” of the Athenæum.

at twenty guineas each. In the following year (1800) another 75 were admitted at thirty guineas each, and the demand was so great that the number was completed in twenty-four hours. After the subscription list had been closed, the shares rose to forty guineas.

Dr Rutter was honoured by election as its first Treasurer 1798–1801, Vice-President 1802–1804, President 1804–1805. Vice-President again 1815–1816, and President for a second time 1816–1817. Nothing reveals the retiring disposition of the man better than the fact that even in his lifetime doubt arose as to the real author or authors of the scheme.

Fortunately, the son of his old friend Dr James Currie, when editing the Memoir of his father (*Life of Dr Currie*, by William Wallace Currie, 1831), had occasion to allude to the Athenæum, and, evidently hearing conflicting accounts of its origin, wrote to Dr Rutter for the facts of the case.¹ Mr Currie's reference (vol. i. p. 337) to the matter is in the following terms:—

“The true circumstances attending the rise of the Athenæum, “the first public literary establishment which reared its head “in Liverpool, are not generally known; and as they were at “a recent period inaccurately represented in some of the “provincial journals, from which they were copied into the “London papers, an accurate statement will be found in the “Appendix. The editor is indebted for it to the kindness of “Dr Rutter, one of the five individuals who originally met “together upon the subject.”

The fact concerning the origin of the Athenæum will be found in the *Life of Currie*, vol. i. p. 485.

If corroboration is still required of the fact that the Athenæum was mainly due to Dr Rutter, it is to be found in the *Memoir of William Roscoe*, written by Dr Thomas Stewart Traill, F.R.S., for on page 25 is to be found the following sentence:—“The plan” (foundation of Athenæum) “suggested by Dr Rutter was warmly supported by Mr Roscoe, “Dr Currie, Mr George Case, and some other gentlemen.”

¹ See Appendix III., p. 56.

Dr Rutter was thirty-five years of age when he wrote the original prospectus. When he died forty-one years later, notice of his death is not recorded in the Minutes, neither is there to be found in the Annual Report, issued after his death, any notice of the fact that he, with Mr Taylor, were the pioneers who brought the Athenæum into existence.

(Dr Rutter died 16th October 1838. No Council Meeting of the Athenæum was held between 8th October 1838 and 12th November 1838.)

Of Dr Rutter's pursuits and recreations we may, I think, assume that they were of a literary and intellectual character. An indication of this is to be found in a couple of paragraphs appearing in the journal of Audubon, America's greatest naturalist. In one Audubon records (*Audubon and his Journals*, 1898, vol. i. p. 144):—"Oct. 25th, 1826. We passed " so near Sir Walter Scott's seat that I stood up and stretched " my neck some inches to see it, but in vain, and who knows if " I shall ever see the home of the man to whom I am indebted " for so much pleasure. We passed a few miles from Melrose. " I had a great wish to see the old abbey and the gentleman to " whom Dr Rutter had given me a letter, but the coach " rolled on, and at ten o'clock I entered this splendid city."

Again:—"Dec. 24th, 1827. The whole town appears to be " engaged in purchasing eatables for to-morrow. I saw some " people carrying large nosegays of holly ornamented with " flowers in imitation of white roses, carnations, cut out of " turnips and carrots, but I heard not a single gun fire, no " fireworks going on anywhere—a very different time to what " we have in Louisiana. . . . I spent my evening with Dr " Rutter looking at his valuable collection of the men of the " Revolution. Poor Charette!¹ whom I saw shot on the Place " de Viarme at Nantes, was particularly good, as were General " Moreau, Napoleon when Consul, and many others, and Dr " Rutter knew their lives well."

¹ François Athanase de Charette, a leader of the Vendéans against the French Republic: executed at Nantes on 12th May 1797.

No doubt Dr Rutter made the acquaintance of Audubon at the house of his cousin, for it is recorded by Miss Eleanor Rathbone that "all visitors to Liverpool who had "some special opinion to propagate, or some philanthropic "scheme to advance, found a rendezvous at William Rathbone's house."

In 1816 occurred perhaps the greatest sale of books, manuscripts, engravings, etchings, woodprints, drawings, and paintings which has ever taken place in Liverpool. They comprised the collection of one of Liverpool's most distinguished citizens—William Roscoe.

The sale of books and manuscripts began on 19th August in Mr Winstanley's rooms in Marble Street, and lasted for fourteen days, the number of lots sold being 1918.

The sale of engravings, etchings, woodprints, busts, and figures began on 4th September and lasted eleven days, the number of lots sold being 1394. The sale of paintings and drawings began on 23rd September and lasted six days, the lots sold being 766. The entire sale comprised 4078 lots, and lasted for thirty-one days.

I happily came across a marked catalogue with names of purchasers and prices, and if a man's tastes can be judged by the titles of the books he possesses, some idea of Dr Rutter's linguistic talents may be gathered from a perusal of the list of works he purchased at that sale, for it includes volumes in English, Latin, Italian, and French (Appendix IV., p. 58).

For those also who have the faculty of judging character from letter-writing, the following letter from Dr Rutter to his cousin's son,¹ may not be without interest:—

"MY DEAR COUSIN,—In compliance with thy request that "I would state in writing what I mentioned to thee in "conversation respecting the character of thy grandfather, William Rathbone, I sit down with great pleasure "to the task. Although it is now about forty-six years "since he died, my recollection of his person, his character,

¹ *Memoir of William Rathbone*, by Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone.

“ and his manners, is as vivid as if I had seen him only
“ yesterday.

“ No human being whom I have ever yet met with has left
“ upon my mind so strong an impression of his worth. In
“ business he was very diligent and active; yet the concerns
“ of business disturbed him not; and when at the close of the
“ day he sat down with his family, there was such calmness,
“ such composure in his aspect and demeanour, that it was
“ almost impossible for those who were near him not to feel
“ the full influence of it. Still more strongly have I felt this
“ when I have seen him on a summer's evening sitting alone
“ near the riverside, in a state of contemplation; so calm, so
“ mild, so tranquil, I seemed as if I had been in the presence
“ of a being not of this world, to the feverish, selfish, and
“ restless spirit of which his own state of mind presented so
“ striking a contrast. To me his kindness was constant and
“ uniform. Soon after I settled here he said to me one
“ day: ‘ Now, in this large and dangerous town, thou mayest
“ ‘ probably often be invited into company which may be
“ ‘ neither profitable nor agreeable to thee. In all such cases
“ ‘ thou hast a ready excuse. Thou art always engaged to me.’
“ I felt deeply the kindness of the motives from which this
“ hint proceeded, and I often afterwards availed myself of it.
“ In all his conduct there never appeared anything which
“ bore the slightest approach to selfishness; there were no
“ littlenesses, no fretfulness or impatience. There was in all
“ his proceedings a moral dignity and greatness, which it was
“ easy to perceive, but it is difficult to convey an adequate
“ conception of it to another.”

While searching the files of the newspapers of seventy or eighty years ago, in the Public Library, I came across a fact, long since forgotten but worth recalling. It shows that the medical men of that day, though ignorant of the origin of infective diseases which then accounted for a large mortality, had at least the courage of openly stating their convictions as to another and greater scourge.

We have had manifestoes and declarations concerning alcohol in recent years, but it is gratifying to know that one

of the first medical temperance declarations signed and published in this country was that of the Liverpool physicians and surgeons, and among the distinguished signatures is that of Dr Rutter. The declaration appeared in *The Liverpool Mercury* on 18th November 1831 (page 366, col. 3, par. 7), and reads as follows:—

“ We, whose names are subscribed, are of the opinion that
 “ one of the principal causes of pauperism, crime, and disease
 “ which now exists among the working classes of society in
 “ this country is intemperance, and especially the intemperate
 “ use of ardent spirits, and that if any means can be devised
 “ whereby the people can be prevailed upon to give up
 “ altogether the practice of drinking spirituous liquors no
 “ possible evil will result from the change, but, on the con-
 “ trary, a benefit of inestimable value would be both felt and
 “ communicated to all around.”

“ *Physicians.*

“ Dr Brandreth. Dr Hancock.
 Dr Briggs. Dr Jeffreys.
 Dr Banning. Dr Macrorie.
 Dr Carson. Dr Rutter.

Surgeons.

Mr Bickersteth. Mr Forshaw.
 Mr Collinson. Mr Worthington.
 Mr Christian. Mr Dawson.”

Probably every member, especially those who golf, would sign it now. Perhaps it will please Sir James Barr to know that I have had two rounds of golf *only* in the last twelve years. Some recent press correspondence on this subject recalls the story of the man who, on being asked why he attended discussions in Latin, replied that, although he did not understand the language, he knew perfectly well who was getting the worst of it, for he could easily see who was first in a temper.

While as far back as 1725 the Royal College of Physicians published a remonstrance against the common sale of spirits, a protest in which the medical profession at large heartily joined, no definite society for the promotion of temperance existed until 10th January 1826, the city of Boston having the distinction of being the birthplace of temperance reform.

To Ohio apparently belongs the honour of the first Ladies'

Temperance Society (about the latter end of 1828), and one of their rules is worth recording:—"We will discountenance all addresses by anyone of the male sex with a view to matrimony, if they shall be known to drink ardent spirits either periodically or on any public occasion." Of course they all died old maids!

In these days when the "votes for women" question is becoming so acute as to command public attention, and has the complete support of one parliamentary party, it is noteworthy that the suggestion to form (22nd July 1830) a Liverpool Temperance Society—with James Cropper as President—proceeded from two ladies.

How great was the need for such a society and for such a medical declaration may be gathered from the diary of America's greatest naturalist, John James Audubon, when visiting Liverpool and Manchester. "I was struck," he writes, "by the sallow looks, sad faces, ragged garments and poverty of a large proportion of the population, which seemed worse off than the negroes of Louisiana" (*Life and Adventures of John James Audubon*, p. 108).

In all progressive movements for the benefit of the town, Dr Rutter's name almost invariably appears either as benefactor or member of Council; and whatever views Dr Rutter may have held on the principles and practice of medicine, we are not left in doubt as to his views concerning the means whereby medical science and the status of those engaged therein could be advanced.

He recognised clearly that in consequence of the want of co-operation the whole system of medical polity was defective and erroneous. Hence we find he was one of those who established (1832) the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association, of which one of the principal objects was "the maintenance of the honour and respectability of the profession generally, in the provinces, by promoting friendly intercourse and free communication of its members; and by establishing among them the harmony and good

“feeling which ought ever to characterise a liberal profession.”

Associated with him on the Council in this progressive movement—probably the most beneficial which has ever occurred in the history of medicine in this country—were three other Liverpool men of mark:—

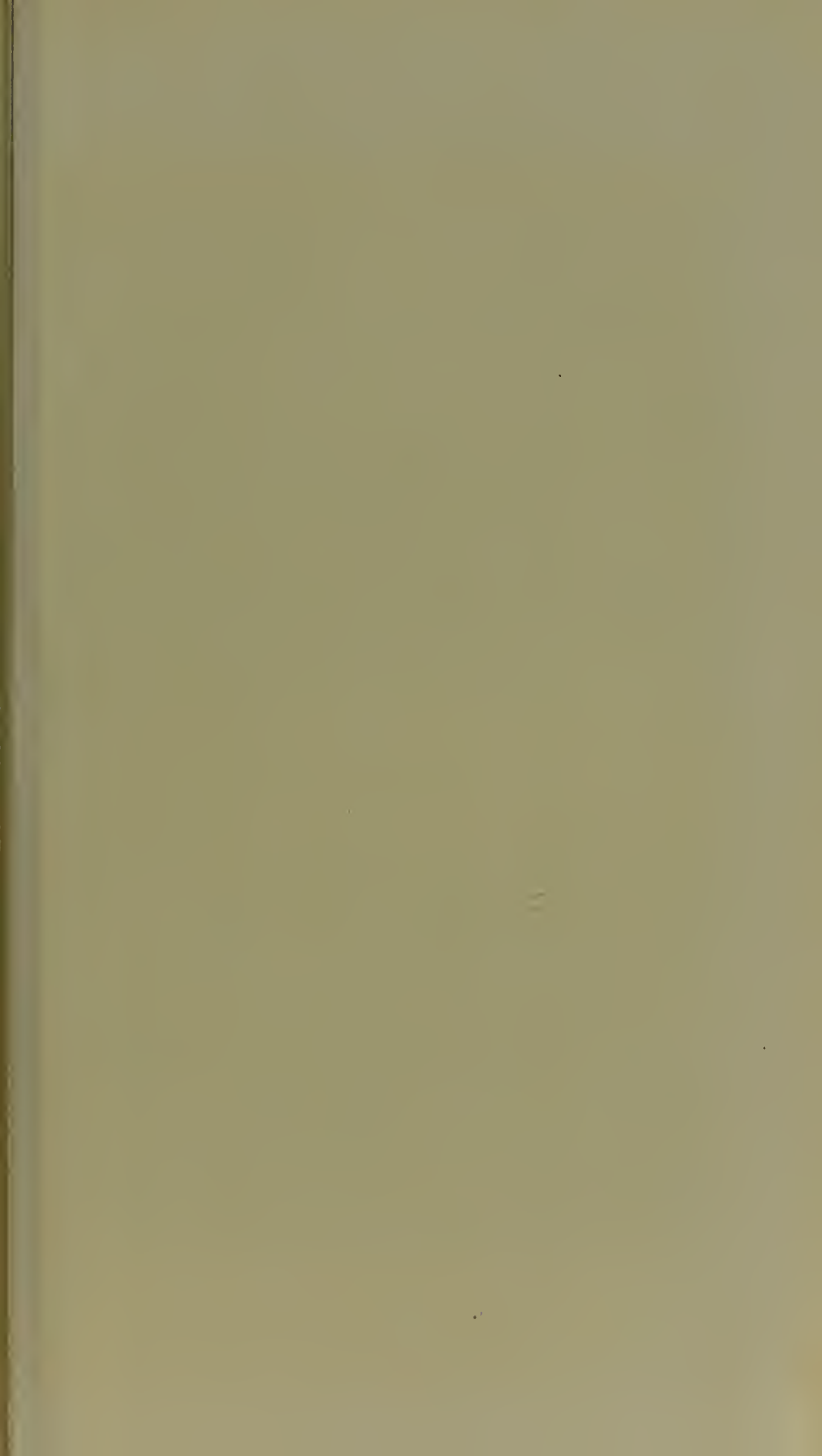
(1) James Dawson, at that time surgeon to the Liverpool Infirmary, who later became the first President of our Association, occupying that position throughout a period of twenty-six years, 1840–1865.

(2) Thomas Jeffreys, M.D.

(3) Thomas Stewart Traill, M.D., F.R.S., physician to the Liverpool Ophthalmic Infirmary, and later Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Edinburgh. With this gentleman “the original plan of the Liverpool Royal Institution originated,” being drawn up by him in 1813.

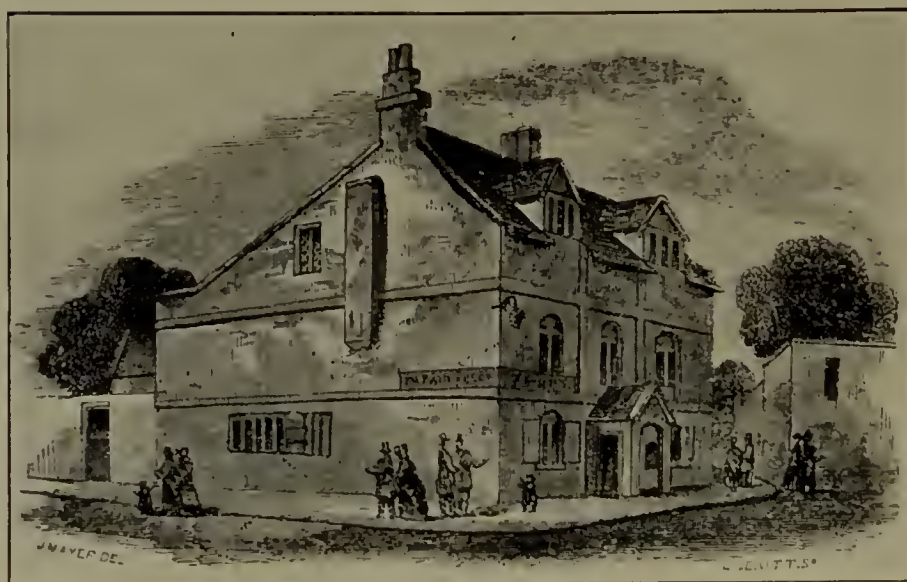
How largely the medical men of Liverpool contributed to the success of the Provincial Association—now the British Medical Association—may be gauged from the fact that of the sixteen essays and “cases” comprising its first volume, five were written by Liverpool medical men:—Drs Jeffreys, Traill, Dawson, David Williams, and Roger Scott.

When a few years later a number of Lancashire medical men met at the Leigh Arms Hotel, Newton-le-Willows, “for the purpose of establishing the ‘Newton Medical and Surgical Association’ for the advancement of medical science and the promotion of a free communication and friendly intercourse of the medical profession in that part of the Kingdom,” we read (*Liverpool Mercury*, 7th July 1837), that “Dr Jeffreys of Liverpool took an opportunity of stating that Dr Rutter of Liverpool cordially approved of the objects of the meeting, and regretted that he was unable personally to attend. His name was received with great applause. Three local Committees were formed—Liverpool, Manchester, and Warrington—and Dr Rutter was elected





UNION COFFEE HOUSE, MOUNT PLEASANT.
Its site adjoins that of University Club.



THE HOUSE IN WHICH MR ROSCOE WAS BORN.
The site on which the Liverpool Medical Institution now stands.

“ President of the Liverpool Committee, which comprised “ himself, Dr Jeffreys, Mr Bickersteth, Mr M‘Culloch, with “ Dr Scott, Secretary.”

But the achievements by which Dr Rutter’s name will pass down to posterity were the founding of the Athenæum and the founding of this Building. Though I entered last year¹ into the circumstances concerning the latter, a sketch of Dr Rutter’s life which did not call attention to the part he played in the transaction would be incomplete, for had there been no Dr Rutter the building in which we now meet would not exist.

As we have already seen, Dr Rutter, at the age of seventeen, was one of those present at the public institution of the Liverpool Medical Library at the Union Coffee House² on 7th October 1779, exactly one hundred and thirty years ago to-night.

He would therefore be conversant with the history of the Library from its commencement. He was President of it for the first time in 1809, when it occupied a room over the patients’ entrance to the old Infirmary on Shaw’s Brow. He was again President in 1826, when the Corporation gave notice that the Library Room had to be demolished to make way for St George’s Hall, and also in 1827, when he made the suggestion (this information is obtained from the Corporation Minutes), 19th January 1827, to the Select Finance Committee, “ that a small building be provided for the Medical “ Library at the back of the Weighing Machine House in the “ Cattle Market,” Lime Street, which was agreed to. In the same year, 3rd September, the Committee of the Liverpool Medical Library met in the Library Room, Lime Street, Dr Rutter taking the chair.

In 1833, when notice to quit was received in order to clear the site for the railway station, Dr Rutter was the President of the newly formed Medical Society, and in a letter to Dr Squires, the President of the Medical Library, he wrote as follows (22nd April):—

¹ Inaugural Address (*Liver. Med.-Chir. Journ.*, vol. xxix. p. 1, 1909).

² Plate V.

“ It appears to me not at all improbable that the Corporation would, on a proper application to them, provide the Library with accommodation *at least equal* to the present. But it appears to me that more accommodation is really wanted. And several gentlemen are of opinion, and I quite agree with them in this opinion, that it would be desirable to procure a building which might suffice for every purpose for which it could be required by the profession at large; that is, in the first place, for a Library; and secondly, for all meetings of the profession, for Medical Lectures, or the meetings of Medical Societies; with a Committee Room annexed to it and with a convenient residence for a Librarian.”

We have in these words, written two years before the Corporation granted the lease,¹ Dr Rutter's conception of the purposes such a building ought to serve. He fully recognised that, liberal as the Corporation had long been in encouraging every project which had public utility for the basis, it would require considerable delicacy on the part of the Library Committee not to ask from them more than was reasonable. He suggested that the medical profession of Liverpool should themselves bear the expense, estimated at £600, because “ we might then have a building upon our own plan, entirely at our own disposal, with accommodation for every possible purpose for which such a building could be wanted,” and he offered £100 to that object; with the proviso that it should “ not be employed in the erection of a building with less or fewer accommodations than those which he had stated.”

It is not surprising that the members, recognising a man with a “ building in his head,” elected him to the Presidency of the Medical Library in the following year (1834), annually re-elected him up to the year of his death (1838), and left the whole of the negotiations with the Corporation entirely in his hands.

As is known, the Corporation met the wishes of Dr Rutter with remarkable generosity, enabling this very much finer building than Dr Rutter had originally contemplated to be

¹ Plate V.





SKETCH

of

John Rutter M.D.

*Drawn on Stone and presented to the
Liverpool Medical Institution Library by*

W. G. H.

built. He gave at least £900 to the fund, and entered heart and soul into the bazaar scheme, suggested by Mrs Dawson to his half-sister Mrs Chorley, for the purpose of clearing the Institution from a debt of £1045.

But whilst this bazaar, for the success of which Dr Rutter had striven so hard, was in progress—10th, 11th, 12th October—he himself was struggling with death; but he lived long enough to have communicated to him the fact that it had been a very great success;¹ and when the weekly issue of the *Mercury* appeared on 19th October 1838, it not only contained the account of the bazaar, but also the fact of his death on the 16th inst.

It is a point of interest that the obituary notice occupies the very unusual position of being coupled with the announcement in the ordinary column. Short as it is, it is the only account of his life that I have succeeded in finding. It runs as follows:—

“On Tuesday last, at his residence in St Anne Street, John Rutter, Esq., M.D. He was a native of Liverpool, being born here on the 23rd of August 1762, consequently was in his 77th year of his age. After studying at Edinburgh, and taking his degree there, he finally settled in Liverpool about the year 1789. The senior physician of the place, his persevering assiduity and extensive reading kept him at the head of his profession. The Medical Hall may be considered a monumental proof of his zeal for the science: he was a munificent contributor to this building, which he enriched by the gift of his very valuable library.

“Though he considered himself as prevented, by his profession, from taking an active part in the great political events of the day, yet he was far from being an uninterested spectator of anything that affected the happiness or welfare of mankind. He was one of the small band of enlightened pioneers, including Currie, Roscoe, and others, who gave the first impulse and a right direction to that public spirit to

¹ By the merest chance a perfect lithographed sketch of Dr Rutter by Herdman, taken shortly before his death, has within the last few days fallen into my hands (Plate VI.).

“ which we owe those institutions of which Liverpool is with
 “ reason proud. The Athenæum owes its existence princip-
 “ ally to his exertions. A shrinking reserve prevented his
 “ being intimately known except to a few, but he was
 “ respected by all, and those only who lament his loss can
 “ fully appreciate his value in the nearer relations of friend-
 “ ship and domestic life.” (*Liverpool Mercury*, Friday,
 19th October 1838.)

The announcement of his death was notified by the Committee of the Liverpool Medical Library requesting the attendance of the members of the Medical Library at the funeral, in order to “ signify publickly their respect for their late President of the Library.”

The Committee of the Liverpool Medical Society also announced his death to the members of that Society, “ deeply
 “ deploring the loss of Dr Rutter, one of its first founders and
 “ warmest supporters,” and requesting “ the members to assemble
 “ at his house in order to show their respect for his memory.”

Dr Rutter was buried in the cemetery attached to the Meeting House belonging to the Society of Friends in Hunter Street. No stone marks his grave, but the position of it, as of that of his mother — who died at the age of eighty-five (21st September 1824), at his house in St Anne Street, after a residence with him of between thirty and forty years—is known accurately.

There also lie his cousins the Rathbones, and his friend Dr Jonathan Binns. His father and brothers who died prior to 1791 were interred in the old cemetery attached to the old Meeting House.

Later, a memorial tablet was placed to him in St Peter's Church by his half-sister Mrs Chorley. It has been suggested by our resident Librarian, Mr Jones, that in the likelihood of St Peter's being taken down when the Cathedral is built, it is possible the authorities might be willing to allow the tablet to grace this building, and I hope Mr Jones' suggestion may not be lost sight of.

The inscription, kindly translated for me by Professor Strong, is as follows:—

“Sacred to the memory of JOHN RUTTER, M.D., who,
 “after a distinguished educational career at the Edinburgh
 “Academy, practised successfully in this his native town for
 “some fifty years. He passed away at last on 16th October
 “1838, in the 77th year of his age. His death was due
 “to no disease, but to length of years alone. His character
 “was simple, straightforward, guileless; his judgment was sure
 “and far-seeing; his perseverance was great. The uprightness
 “of his life and his professional skill alike won for him the
 “love and admiration of all. To his relations he was most affec-
 “tionate, a favourite with his friends. The skill wherewith
 “nature had endowed him, and which study and varied experi-
 “ence had perfected, was at the free disposal of many friends.
 “To the poor he gave his services freely. He was untiring in
 “his endeavour to advance the study of good learning, in
 “which his tastes were catholic and not commonplace.

“President as he was of the Medical Society, by the
 “unanimous vote of its members, he desired to see that
 “Society housed in a stately habitation, and he aided it with
 “money and advanced its progress by his patronage.

“Unpretentious in his life, he made no enemies; he passed
 “away in the midst of honourable toil; he left full many
 “friends to mourn his loss.

“This monument was erected by a sorrowing sister to her
 “brother, and by his surviving heirs to their respected uncle.”

A few words respecting his sister, Mrs Chorley, and his niece and nephews, his heirs, may not be out of place.

As before mentioned, Dr Rutter's mother belonged to an old Cumberland family of the name of Brownsword. She is said to have been of high spirits and indomitable courage. She married twice. By her (second) marriage with Thomas Wilkinson, of Wigton, she had a daughter, Jane, born after the death of her father. Mrs Wilkinson was induced by her son, Dr Rutter, to remove from Wigton to Liverpool with her little daughter.

It is related of this young lady—half-sister to Dr Rutter—that when a child she wrote a novel, and to the very last years

of her life could amuse herself and relieve her mind by writing verses, and that in her rhymes there was a vein of true poetry, of real fancy and of real feeling. She is described as "very lovely on a small scale, with shy eyes, a fresh complexion and a perfectly formed mouth, and hair of that sunny colour which in womanhood ripens into auburn."

She married, on her twenty-first birthday, John Chorley, ironmaster of Ashton-in-Makerfield, a member of the Society of Friends, and to them were born Mary Ann, William Brown-sword, John Rutter, and Henry Fothergill Chorley.

When in the year 1819 Dr Rutter well-nigh died of typhus fever, he was nursed by his half-sister, Mrs Chorley, now a widow. He was invited by Mrs Rathbone to spend the time of his convalescence, together with his sister and her four children, at Greenbank.¹ In this way commenced the intimate friendship between the Chorley and Rathbone families.

Dr Rutter's nephews distinguished themselves in the spheres of commerce, literature, and art, the pages of the British Museum Catalogue attesting their attainments.

John Rutter Chorley was endowed with a most unusual combination of talents. Not only did he become the Treasurer of the Grand Junction Railway Company (Liverpool to Birmingham), but he was a gifted poet, a remarkable linguist, a writer, and an intimate friend of Thomas Carlyle. Of him Carlyle wrote:—

"I often urged him to write a book on Spanish literature—
 "some good book worthy of himself and of his wide and exact
 "knowledge. . . . I know no man in these flimsy days, nor
 "shall ever again know, one so well read, so widely and
 "accurately informed, and so completely at home, not only in
 "all fields of worthy literature and scholarship, but in matters
 "practical, technical, naval, mechanical, etc. etc., as well."

Henry Fothergill Chorley became a contributor to *The Athenceum* at the age of twenty-two, and was for thirty-five

¹ Plate VII. The illustration is produced from *William Rathbone: A Memoir*, by permission of Miss Eleanor Rathbone and Messrs Macmillan & Co., Ltd.



GREENBANK.

years the musical critic of *The Athenæum*. He was also a writer of novels and dramas, a poet, and a composer. He invented Jenny Lind.¹ Among the celebrities with whom he associated were Carlyle, Wilkie Collins, Robert and Elizabeth Browning, Hawthorn, G. P. R. James, and Thackeray; but his more intimate circle included Frederick Leighton, Lord Lytton, Justice Cockburn, Sir John Coleridge, while his most attached friend was Charles Dickens, to whose eldest daughter he bequeathed £200 a year for life. He also left £600 to the Lifeboat Institution with the proviso that the boat should be called the *John Rutter Chorley* after his deceased brother. He published his first book² at the age of twenty-six, dedicating it to his uncle in the following words:—

“ *To John Rutter, M.D.*

“ MY DEAR UNCLE,—This is not precisely the book which
 “ I should like to have dedicated to you; but it is my
 “ first, and I can offer it to no one with so much propriety or
 “ pleasure as to the person whom I have such good cause to
 “ regard as my second father. I inscribe it to you, therefore,
 “ as a mark of the grateful regard of your affectionate nephew,
 “ HENRY F. CHORLEY.”

Of Miss Chorley, the only information I have been able to gather is that she was an intimate friend of Mrs Gaskell, the authoress of *Cranford*.

By a will made the year before his death, Dr Rutter left his effects, valued at under £30,000, consisting of railway stock and freehold land in Cumberland—in the vicinity of his mother's birthplace, Wigton—in trust for his “dear sister Jane Chorley” during her life, and on her death for equal division between his niece Mary Ann and his three nephews, Wm. Brownsword, John Rutter, and Henry Fothergill Chorley. He left a legacy of £100 to his “faithful servant William Pendlebury,” £50 to another servant, Elizabeth Grocot, and

¹ *The Athenæum*, 24th February 1872.

² *Sketches of a Seaport Town*, 1834.

£25 to each female servant in his employ at the time of his death. His freehold houses in St Anne Street were to be sold and the proceeds employed in purchasing for the said Jane Chorley "a residence in the vicinity of Liverpool more conducive to her health and convenience."

His pride and interest in the building he had founded was shown in his bequeathing to the Trustees of the Medical Institution Building his collection of minerals, which he stated in his will to be one "of great value," and which he desired "to be placed in the Museum of that Institution." The collection was made by William Phillips, and was valued in 1877 at £1300. It can now be seen at the Public Museum, and is one of its most prized possessions.

He also bequeathed to the Museum of the Medical Institution Building all his books and works on mineralogy.

The executors of his will were William and Richard Rathbone, sons of his cousin, and his friend George Crosfield.

That a memoir of him was written I am now aware from a perusal of the Minutes of the Newton-le-Willows Medical and Surgical Association, for the loan of which I am deeply indebted to Mr Larkin. These Minutes record, 27th June 1839, that:—"The President now called upon Dr Scott for Mr " John Chorley's memoir of Dr Rutter, with which he favoured " the meeting. At its conclusion it was unanimously resolved, " on the motion of Dr Kendrick, seconded by Dr Holme, 'That " 'this Meeting, sincerely lamenting the loss of so highly " 'respectable and valuable a member as the late Dr Rutter, " 'begs to express its grateful acknowledgments to John " 'Chorley, Esq., for his very interesting memoir of his late " 'uncle; and at the same time also requests that Dr Scott " 'will accept its thanks for his kindness in introducing it.'"

In the Annual Report of the Society for the year 1838-39 the subject is again feelingly alluded to:—"Your Council, " however, have had to lament the death of Dr Rutter, the " President of the Liverpool Committee, and although his

“ place will be ably supplied in the person of Dr Jeffreys, they
 “ feel that, by the death of Dr Rutter, the profession has lost
 “ a most munificent friend and benefactor, and the Association
 “ a zealous and ardent well-wisher. At the solicitation of the
 “ Liverpool Committee his memoir from the pen of Mr John
 “ Chorley, which like every other literary production of his
 “ is most judiciously and elegantly written, has been placed
 “ in the hands of Dr Scott, who will favour the meeting with
 “ such portions of it as he may deem most interesting to the
 “ members at large.”

It is to be hoped that some day this valuable memoir may come to light. In the autobiography of his nephew, Henry Fothergill Chorley, we fortunately obtain an insight into Dr Rutter's private character. Of him Chorley writes:—

“ God never created a more noble-hearted, generous man
 “ than he was; few men have been more zealous in their
 “ calling, less pedantic in the task of perpetual self-education
 “ and qualification. A dread of the shame of debt, an
 “ excellent liberality in the exercise of his profession, the
 “ curious mixture of personal modesty and sagacious decision
 “ in his medical practice, possibly, too, his handsome person,
 “ established him in his birthplace, after years of probation,
 “ as first physician; but his ways were as little like the
 “ world's ordinary ways as those of the rest of the persons
 “ among whom we four Chorley children were brought up.
 “ He had remarkable stores of knowledge, which to the last
 “ he increased, yet he could not endure intellectual society,
 “ the collision and discussion of opinions. . . .

“ At my father's death he came forward to stand betwixt
 “ his half-sister, with her four children, and penury; and
 “ thenceforward his life seemed to find its duties, and, in some
 “ degree, I am glad to think, its rewards also, in the family
 “ whom he had adopted.”

In offering this sketch I trust I have not wearied you. If there was one quality which more than another Dr Rutter possessed in a marked degree, it was that of a retiring modesty, and this reluctance to focus in the public eye renders

it certain that my estimate of him cannot be as accurate nor as interesting as the worthiness of the subject deserves.

But if it should serve to stimulate interest in the man, so as to incline any to a critical study of his views, the time occupied will not have been misspent.

It is seventy-two years since he delivered his address—a considered and judicial statement of the uses of the Institution Building, and of the just claims of the profession, together with the policy which, if pursued, would in his opinion secure the happiness of the Liverpool medical profession as a whole and individually. His utterances were those of a man of large experience, easy means, and aware that a few short years must terminate his career.

Though he touched upon many points in his address, two themes were, the attitude taken by the public towards medical men, and the attitude taken by medical men towards each other. Translated into present-day language, those two themes are combined in three words — “The Hospital Question.”

Though there were only two medical charities in Liverpool for the sick poor in Dr Rutter’s day—the Infirmary and the Dispensary—the disease which curtails the prospects and destroys the happiness of so many medical men was even then assuming alarming proportions. I refer, of course, to so-called “hospital abuse,” otherwise the systematic abuse of the medical profession.

In a most delightful book, published in 1795, seventeen years after the Dispensary was founded, entitled *A History of the Ancient and Present State of Liverpool*, by James Wallace, “a man about whom nothing is known,” we read:—

“There is no charity in Liverpool that does greater honour
“to the feelings of the inhabitants than the Dispensary. . . .
“There cannot be a greater proof of the utility of this
“establishment to the town, and the relief it has given, and
“still continues to give to the afflicted indigent, than the
“number which have been annually benefited since its

“ institution in the year 1778. It appears from an accurate
 “ statement that 172,373 persons have been cured of almost
 “ every disorder incident to human nature from 1778 to 1794,
 “ being on the average 10,767 diseased and afflicted objects
 “ every year ” (pp. 165, 166).

The large number of patients attending, is here taken as indicating the great need for such medical attention.

Twenty-eight years later, Smithers, in his *Liverpool: its Commerce, Statistics, and Institutions*, 1825, pp. 273, 274, after stating that the applications for medical and surgical assistance afforded by the Dispensary from 1778 to 1832 were 634,052, wrote as follows:—

“ When the great number of applications for medical aid is
 “ compared with the population, it must awaken surprise.
 “ The facility with which tickets are obtained,¹ there is
 “ every reason to fear, induces many to apply whose stations
 “ in life enable them to pay for regular advice. Such persons
 “ should seriously consider that they act unjustly and fraudu-
 “ lently: these charities were instituted for the benefit of the
 “ poor only. Such conduct, originating in covetousness or
 “ avarice, is a greater crime than that which induces the half-
 “ starving thief to rob for his daily bread. The supporters of
 “ these institutions should investigate as much as possible,
 “ although it cost them some trouble, the cases of the several
 “ applicants.”

Dr Rutter, in his courtly language, alluding to this exploitation of the services of medical men, said:—

“ In this place you may perhaps be able, sooner or later, to
 “ originate measures which may terminate in procuring for
 “ all who are engaged in the service of our public institutions,
 “ a fair and just remuneration for their labours. I can now
 “ only briefly glance at this subject, and must leave it for
 “ your future consideration. Some time must elapse before
 “ you can prevail upon the inhabitants of Liverpool to think,
 “ that it is neither just nor reasonable that so many of you

¹ Patients were admitted on the recommendation of the magistrates, clergy, church wardens, Parish Committee, or any subscriber to the charity.

“ should be expected to employ the best and most active period
 “ of your lives in labouring for the public without reward.
 “ Unrewarded duties and services such as yours, so extensive
 “ and so unremitting, have not yet been expected from any
 “ other portion of the community, and ought not to be ex-
 “ pected from you.”

Is a further period of another seventy-two years to elapse before this association of medical men consider the happiness of the profession a subject of sufficient importance to “ originate measures” having for their object the common right of the medical profession to ordinary justice and ordinary treatment?

In the mist which has surrounded the early history of the Medical Institution, there is great danger of losing sight of the object for which it was designed. It must be remembered that the Medical Institution of to-day is not the Medical Institution of Dr Rutter’s day. The change may be one of inestimable value. Then it was a building pure and simple, and remained such to the close of his life. To-day it represents a special society of medical men, with limited objects and restricted membership. Then it fulfilled the purpose for which it was built. It was a Medical Hall—the name actually applied to it in the public announcement of Dr Rutter’s death—which, in addition to providing accommodation for one of the most valuable medical libraries then in existence, and accommodation for the requirements of medical societies, was at the service of any and every respectable medical man, or body of medical men, on payment of a proper consideration for the use of the building. Not only so, but it could be, and was, used for meetings serving scientific purposes other than medical. It was, in fact, to act in the medical world the part played by St George’s Hall in the public world. The change which has taken place in constitution since Dr Rutter’s death may be compared from that of a “ free ” to that of a “ tied ” house.

Dr Rutter said :—

“ This Institution may, and I hope it will, be the means of

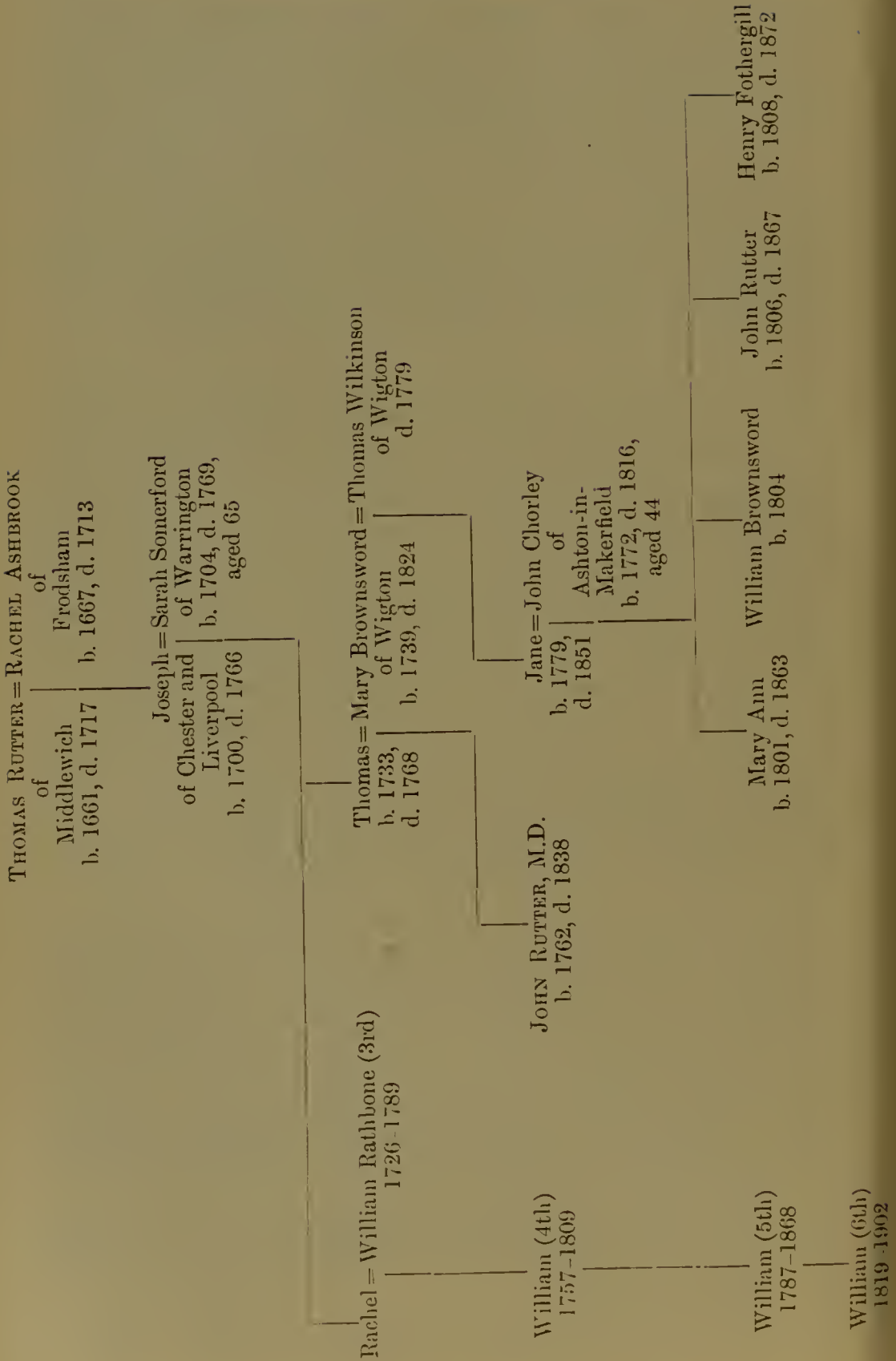
“uniting the different members of the profession in a firm
“and compact body ; disposed at all times to co-operate strenu-
“ously and cordially in the prosecution of every measure which
“may conduce to the interests of all. . . . On all questions
“relating to the profession, in the discussion of which you
“may be expected to take a share, allow me to exhort you
“earnestly to act upon all such occasions with the closest
“union. You should, then, move with one mind and one will.
“All trifling jealousies and differences should give way to the
“general good ; for without union you can do nothing.”

It is generally believed that Dr Rutter was the first President of this Institution, and took the chair as such at the opening meeting, May 1837. That is not so. Dr Rutter never held the position of President of this Institution. Dr Rutter was the founder of the Institution (Building). He took the chair at the opening in his capacity of President of the Medical Library, a position he had held for four consecutive years,¹ and continued to hold up to the time of his death ; and it is important also to remember that his opening address² was not to the members of the Medical Institution, for there were no such members. It was “an address delivered at a numerous meeting of professional gentlemen.” He died in 1838. The first change in the constitution of the Institution took place in 1839, and the first President was not appointed till 1840.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I sincerely thank you again for the honour you have bestowed upon me, for the attention with which you have listened to me, and for the consideration you have ever shown me. In anything I have thought or said there has been the sole desire of advancing the prestige of the Institution, the influence of our profession, and the individual happiness of medical men.

¹ Dr Rutter was elected President of the Liverpool Medical Library in 1809, 1826, 1827, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838 (died 16th October).

² See Appendix V., p. 59.



APPENDIX I.

"A REMARKABLE DREAM.¹

"THE purport of a dream which John Rutter of Liverpool, a young man of twenty-three years of age, had about four weeks before his death, being then rather weak in body, in the year 1762.

"'I thought,' said he, 'that I had been for some time unwell and was taking a ride out, hoping the fresh air might be a means to regain my health, when I came to a large graveyard, wherein there were divers gravestones with inscriptions on them, and a curiosity to read them seized me, whereupon I alighted from my horse and fastened him to the gate and went in. And as I sat reading very attentively, upon looking round I saw, on the opposite side of the graveyard, a man who appeared to be far advanced in years, and was coming towards me. He seemed to have a long white beard, and when he approached nearer, I thought him the most amiable and beautiful man I had ever seen. He had on each shoulder a large wing, which shone and glittered like the sun. In his right hand he had a scythe, and in his left an hour-glass. When he came up close to me he accosted me in a very solemn manner, and queried of me what drew me so early among the tombs.

"'I answered that I was taking a ride, and as I passed could not be easy without alighting and perusing the inscriptions that were there before me, whereupon he replied there were many both young and old lay interred there; "and," said he, "suppose ere long thou shouldst be called hence, and be no more seen in the world, art thou ready to leave this world?" I answered that I was not so well prepared as I hoped to be, if Providence would favour me a little longer. He then looked steadfastly upon me, resuming a very awful look, and said, "Well, then, let me warn thee to prepare thyself, for thou wilt, perhaps, be called hence before thou art aware. Make the Lord thy God the subject of thy morning song and evening prayer. Ere long I will see thee again, meantime make good use of thy time. Be not over anxious to live; heretofore thou hast been too anxious. I must now take leave of thee." Upon that he put out his hand, as if I must shake hands with him, and I offered my hand, but could feel no substance, whereupon I looked him in the face, and he was smiling on me, and immediately vanished out of my sight."

¹ From the Nicholson MSS. in the Library of the Society of Friends, Hunter Street, Liverpool. It was published in the *Irish Friend*, Belfast, in slightly altered language, seventy-seven years later, viz. 1839, fourth month, 1st day.

APPENDIX II.

COPY OF DR RUTTER'S PROSPECTUS.¹

"OUTLINES OF A PLAN FOR A LIBRARY AND NEWSROOM.

"LIVERPOOL, *Nov. 22nd, 1797.*

"It has often been a matter of surprise to many of the inhabitants of this place, and still more so to strangers, that in a town of such commercial and national importance as Liverpool, the conveniences and accommodations for the acquisition of knowledge, both local and general, both ancient and modern, should be so imperfect as they confessedly are. The want of a Public Library of well-selected books in all the useful, as well as ornamental, branches of knowledge, in the learned languages, and in some of the modern languages of Europe, as well as in our own, has long been felt and acknowledged; and every person inclined to literary pursuits has experienced the difficulty of making any considerable progress in any particular department of knowledge from the want of an establishment which might furnish him with the perusal of the best authors on the subject of his inquiries, and which would exempt him from the necessity of incurring the expense of purchasing all the books his pursuits may require, an expense which is not generally convenient to individuals.

"The present Public Library by no means answers this purpose; it is not sufficiently select in choice of books; the books in it are almost exclusively confined to our own language, and the number of subscribers is now so large that it is extremely difficult to obtain, in any reasonable time, the perusal of any new publication, so that the establishment of another Library has become almost necessary. Besides this the Library is open only four hours in the day, and those are hours of business and employment.

"Impelled by these considerations, several gentlemen have ventured to propose to the inhabitants of Liverpool the establishment of an Institution which they have long had in contemplation, and which they hope will be found to answer all the purposes for which it is designed. In addition to the advantages of having within reach a valuable repository of books in every department of useful knowledge, they propose to comprehend in their plan all the advantages and conveniences of a Newsroom. They intend, if the plan meets encouragement and support, to appropriate a certain part of the annual income to procure a regular supply of newspapers, both town and country, all the periodical publications of any value, and all pamphlets that have a reference to subjects of local or general polity, or of commerce. They intend also to furnish the room with all the best maps that can be procured.

¹ *History of the Athenæum, Liverpool, 1898.*

“ In a word, their object is to combine *a Library and a Newsroom*
 “ *in one establishment, under one roof, and even in one room.*
 “ They propose to erect a building for these purposes on the ground
 “ adjoining Mr Case’s house in Church Street, according to an
 “ excellent plan which has been prepared by a professional gentleman
 “ for that purpose. Besides one very large and commodious room,
 “ fifty feet by thirty, which will serve at once for a Newsroom and a
 “ Library, there will be a Reading-room and a Committee-room. The
 “ large room will be built in some measure upon the plan of that in
 “ Marble Street, late belonging to the Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice,
 “ deceased ; but it will be a considerable improvement upon that room.
 “ It will be galleried all round ; the space below will be fitted up
 “ after the manner of a Coffee-room, where the newspapers, reviews,
 “ magazines, and pamphlets may always be met with. Thus the two
 “ establishments will be kept perfectly distinct from each other.
 “ These rooms are designed to be upon a first floor, and it is proposed
 “ that the rooms on the ground floor be converted into shops, and
 “ that the accruing rents of these shops, as well as of the cellars
 “ underneath them, be applied to the general purposes of the
 “ Institution.

“ Such is the outline of the plan ; upon which, it may be remarked,
 “ that it comprehends such advantages as will adapt it to the con-
 “ venience of men of business as well as men of leisure. It will
 “ be open every day from seven o’clock in the morning till nine in
 “ the evening, and the books will be delivered out at all times within
 “ these hours ; all pamphlets of a general or local interest, periodical
 “ publications, as reviews, magazines, etc., will be regularly procured,
 “ and will remain in the Room for the perusal of the subscribers ; the
 “ expense of two separate Institutions will be avoided, *and permanence*
 “ *will be given to the establishment of a Newsroom*, which, both in a
 “ commercial and political point of view, is of great importance in a
 “ town like this.

“ In order to carry this plan into effect, it is proposed to raise a
 “ sum of money by subscription, part of which is to be expended in
 “ purchasing ground and erecting a suitable building, and the
 “ remainder in purchase of a stock of books, the Institution to be
 “ afterwards supported by annual subscriptions. The sum first
 “ advanced is to give the subscriber a transferable interest in the
 “ Institution. It is proposed to limit the number of subscribers to
 “ two hundred and fifty, each of whom is to subscribe ten guineas on
 “ admittance, and two guineas per annum afterwards. It is computed
 “ that the whole expense of building, when completed, will amount
 “ to two thousand pounds, which will leave a surplus of upwards of
 “ five hundred pounds ; and as it is intended that the first year’s
 “ annual subscription should be paid in advance on opening the Room,
 “ a sum of one thousand pounds may thus be applied in the
 “ immediate purchase of books. The annual income, amounting to
 “ five hundred guineas, together with the addition of the contingent
 “ rents of the shops and cellars, which cannot fail to be let to

“ advantage, is proposed to be expended in the following manner :—
 “ After the necessary expenses of the Institution are paid, a sum, not
 “ exceeding one-third of the nett income, shall be annually laid out in
 “ the purchase of newspapers, magazines, reviews, and pamphlets ;
 “ of the remainder of the annual income a part, not exceeding one-
 “ third, shall be applied to the purchase of books in the French,
 “ Italian, German, Latin, and Greek languages ; and the balance to
 “ be expended in purchasing books in our own language.

“ When these proposals are known and understood, it cannot be
 “ doubted that they will meet with the support and encouragement
 “ of the respectable part of the inhabitants of Liverpool. It is
 “ obvious that the gentlemen who have brought forward this plan
 “ can have no private motives to answer in proposing it for adoption.
 “ They can only have an interest in common with every individual
 “ disposed to encourage it, as they feel with many others the common
 “ want of such an Institution. At the same time they think it but
 “ an act of justice to themselves to declare that they have not been
 “ aetive in this business from any view of opposing, injuring, or
 “ depreciating the present Library or any other Institution. The
 “ difference of the plan, and the different objects in view in this
 “ establishment, they flatter themselves, will fully secure them from
 “ any such imputation.”

“ LIVERPOOL, 22nd November 1797.

“ Books are open at each of the Banks to receive the names of
 “ those gentlemen who may be disposed to support and countenance
 “ this undertaking ; and a meeting of the subscribers, for the purpose
 “ of appointing a Committee to carry the same into execution, will
 “ be held on MONDAY, the 27th inst., at twelve o’clock, in the Council
 “ Chamber in Brunswick Street, where plans of the building may in
 “ the meantime be seen.”

APPENDIX III.

“ ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ATHENÆUM AT LIVERPOOL.¹

“ (Communicated by Dr RUTTER.)

“ PREVIOUSLY to the year 1797 the only newsroom of any import-
 “ ance in Liverpool was a large room belonging to the hotel at the
 “ bottom of Lord Street, at that time the princiepall inn. This hotel
 “ was much frequented by strangers, who came to town on business,
 “ and by officers passing to and from Ireland. The newsroom was
 “ constantly so much crowded by these strangers that the subscribers
 “ could not avail themselves of the privilege, to which they alone

¹ *Life of Dr Currie*, by William Wallace Currie, vol. i. p. 485.

“ were entitled, of perusing the newspapers; at a time, too, when
 “ public events had become deeply interesting to every individual in
 “ the empire.

“ About two years before the period above mentioned, the late Mr
 “ Edward Rogers of this town, a gentleman well known and very
 “ highly and deservedly respected, happened to be in Newcastle-upon-
 “ Tyne, and was much struck with an establishment which he had
 “ seen there upon a plan somewhat similar to the Athenæum, but
 “ more comprehensive in its objects; and on his return he mentioned
 “ to the late Mr Thomas Taylor and to me how desirable it would be
 “ to form a somewhat similar establishment here, with a view to
 “ remedy, effectually, the inconveniences above alluded to. There
 “ did not appear at that time to be any rational prospect of sue-
 “ ceeding in such an undertaking. We, however, never lost sight
 “ of the subject, but mentioned it repeatedly to our mutual friends,
 “ in order to ascertain their opinions as to the probability of success.
 “ In the meantime, the inconveniences in the room in Lord Street
 “ became so great and excited so much dissatisfaction that we at
 “ length determined to ascertain whether it might not be practicable
 “ to establish a newsroom elsewhere, and to combine a library along
 “ with it.

“ In the first place, we sought for a suitable and central situation,
 “ and soon fixed upon a piece of vacant land in Church Street, upon
 “ which the Athenæum was subsequently erected. Mr Taylor pro-
 “ cured from the late Mr John Foster a plan and elevation of a
 “ building adapted to that ground, and I drew up a prospectus
 “ explaining the particular objects and purposes of the proposed
 “ institution. These documents were shown to different gentlemen,
 “ who highly approved of them; and, in consequence, we requested
 “ four of these gentlemen to meet us in order to take the subject into
 “ consideration, viz. Mr Roseoe, the late Dr Currie, the late Mr
 “ William Clarke, banker, and Mr Joshua Læe. All these gentle-
 “ men met us at the Theatre Tavern, Williamson Square, on the
 “ 22nd of November 1797, except Dr Currie, who was prevented from
 “ attending by professional engagements.

“ At this meeting the plan and elevation were carefully examined
 “ and approved, the prospectus was read and also approved, and it
 “ was thought desirable to ascertain whether the projected institu-
 “ tion were likely to meet with public support. No formal resolu-
 “ tions were entered into at this meeting, nor was anything committed
 “ to writing; but, as a preliminary measure, the meeting directed
 “ 500 copies of the prospectus to be immediately printed and dis-
 “ tributed amongst the most respectable inhabitants. I was
 “ requested to see this measure executed, and it was done without
 “ delay.

“ After this meeting many respectable gentlemen were consulted
 “ with respect to the practicability of carrying the project into effect,
 “ who promised to give it all the assistance in their power. Amongst
 “ others, it was submitted to the consideration of George Case, Esq.,

“ who warmly encouraged it, and to whose personal attention and
 “ influence the institution was afterwards indebted for many im-
 “ portant benefits.

“ After the distribution of the prospectus, the scheme met with
 “ such encouragement that a public meeting of the friends to it was
 “ summoned. This meeting was held on the 27th of November 1797,
 “ and at this meeting the late Dr Currie presided. The plan and
 “ elevation were then produced; some alterations were proposed to
 “ be made in them, and the meeting concluded their proceedings by
 “ appointing a committee to carry the plan into effect. Books were
 “ opened to receive the names of subscribers, and in a very short
 “ time the number proposed, 350, was filled up, and subsequently
 “ increased to 500, the present number.

“ It is not necessary to enter into any further details respecting
 “ the future proceedings of the subscribers, but it may be useful, and
 “ it is not more useful than proper, to remark that the establishment
 “ of this institution, at the period in question, was incidentally pro-
 “ ductive of much good in this town. At no other period has party-
 “ spirit raged with more vehemence; yet the establishment of the
 “ Athenæum, whilst it promised to provide the inhabitants with such
 “ literary resources as they had not before possessed, had the effect
 “ of bringing into active co-operation for a common object a number
 “ of gentlemen whose opinions on political subjects widely differed,
 “ and who, greatly to their honour, laid aside all such differences and
 “ acted together with the utmost harmony.

“ ST ANNE STREET,
 “ LIVERPOOL, *September 2, 1829.*”

APPENDIX IV.

BOOKS PURCHASED BY DR RUTTER AT THE “SALE OF THE VERY
 SELECT AND VALUABLE LIBRARY OF WILLIAM ROSCOE, ESQ.,
 MONDAY, AUGUST 19, 1816.”

- LINACER, De emendata Structura Latini Sermonis: 8vo, Par., 1541.
 POLITI, Dittionario Toscano: 8vo, Ven., 1629.
 GIOVIO, PAULLO, Istorie del suo tempo, tradotte per Lodovico
 Domenichi: 4to, Ven., 1565.
 NOVUM Testamentum, Gr., ex editione Wetsteniana: 4to, Glasguae,
 Foulis, 1759.
 BOJARDO, MAT. MAR., Orlando Imamorato, rifatto da Berni: 4to,
 Napoli, 1725. Ediz. citata dagli Acedemici della Crusca.
 ARIOSTO, LODOVICO, Orlando Furioso, con cinque Canti d'un nuovo
 libro del medesimo, novamente aggiunti e ricorretti: 4to, Ven.,
 ap. Gratosio Perchacino, 1567.
 CHAUCER, GEOFFREY, The Works of: fol., London, 1602.

- SPENSER, EDMUND, *The Fairy Queen*, with a Glossary explaining the old and obscure words: 8vo, 2 vols., London, 1758.
- MASON, WILLIAM, *The English Garden*, a Poem, in four Books; to which are added a Commentary and Notes.
- CHATTERTON, THOMAS, *Poems*, supposed to have been written at Bristol in the fifteenth century by Thomas Rowley, Priest, etc.; with a Commentary by Jeremiah Milles, D.D.: 4to, Lond., 1782.
- BOCCACCIO, GIOVANNI, *Il Decamerone*: 4to, Firen., Giunti, 1573.
- D'HANCARVILLE, *Recherches sur l'Origine, l'Esprit, et les Progrès des Arts de la Grèce*: 4to, 3 tom., Lond., 1785; fig. in Russia.
- MESUE, JOANNIS, *Della consolazione delle Medecine Semplici solutive*: For., Firenze, senz' anno (sec. XV.). Hæc est una ex insignioribus Florentinis editionibus, quæ ad hanc diem in manus nostras incidere, cuique Artificem nomen suum haud apposuisse moleste fero. Character siquidem Romanus est, et perpulcher, maximeque æquabilis, et magnitudini præstans. v. Audiffr. Spec., 382.
- ALPINI, PROSPERI, *De Plantis Exoticis*: 4to, Ven., 1629.
- LINNÆI, *Systema Naturæ*, cura Joh. Frid. Gmelin: 8vo, 3 tom. in 6, Lips., 1788, etc., Russia.
- HOFFMANSEG, COUNT, et LINK, *Flore Portugaise*: now publishing.

APPENDIX V.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT A NUMEROUS MEETING OF PROFESSIONAL GENTLEMEN, ON THE OPENING OF THE MEDICAL INSTITUTION IN HOPE STREET, ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 31, 1837. BY JOHN RUTTER, M.D., PRESIDENT [OF THE LIVERPOOL MEDICAL LIBRARY].

GENTLEMEN,—As I shall have occasion, at this our first meeting here, to lay before you some subjects which will require a little care in their detail, I have thought it best to commit them to writing.

Before, however, I enter upon them, I embrace this opportunity to congratulate you, and I do most heartily congratulate you, on the success of our united efforts in erecting this noble building; a building which, whilst it is, in the highest degree, creditable to the profession, is unquestionably an additional ornament to the town. Three years since, not the most sanguine amongst us would have believed it to be possible for us to accomplish such an undertaking. Yet, through the generous and liberal conduct of James Aspinall, Esq., Mayor, and the Members of the Common Council in 1835, and through the assistance received not only from numerous members of our own profession, but also from many respectable inhabitants of the town, we have obtained funds sufficient to erect the building, but not sufficient to erect the adjoining building for the Librarian also, and to complete the arrangements of both.

In addition to the amount stated in the circular recently distributed amongst you, considerable expense has been unavoidably incurred. We have had to procure a carpet for the Committee-room, a floor-cloth for the Library, and cushions for the Lecture-room. We have also directed an apparatus to be fixed on the premises to warm the Lecture-room and Museum by hot water, circulating in iron tubes. The different articles thus mentioned will cost about £200, which I will take care to discharge; and by that amount our debt will be reduced. We have now only to provide a proper number of chairs for the Committee-room and Library, and some smaller articles of furniture, and to fix the gas apparatus for lighting the building; and then our heavy expenditure will cease.

The debt remaining to be discharged will require the utmost exertions of the members of the profession to obtain, by direct personal application, subscriptions sufficient to enable the Trustees to liquidate it at the end of the present year. Surely these exertions will not, on such an occasion as this, be declined.

The circular above alluded to, would show you the state of our affairs, at the time when it was dated. Since that time we have received in subscriptions £75; and we now owe £626, 4s. 8d. to our bankers.

It would have been most satisfactory to us, and we might reasonably have expected, to have received much more extensive support and encouragement from the opulent part of this large community. To those, however, who have so far assisted us, our warmest thanks are due; but they are especially due to the late Common Council. As I have had more intercourse with them respecting this building than almost any other individual, I am more fully enabled to state what their conduct to us has been. And it is highly gratifying to me to have it in my power to inform you, that in all the arrangements which have been made, and in the different changes proposed for the site of this building, until we were finally seated here, no body of men could have acceded to these arrangements and changes with more cordiality and promptitude, or with warmer wishes to accommodate us in every respect, than the Members of the late Common Council. Their liberal grant of the building-ground, on a lease of 75 years, rent free! and above all, their splendid donation of £1000, entitle them to the lasting gratitude and respect of the whole profession. Without their generous assistance this building could not have been erected.

We have now, Gentlemen, an Institution of our own, where we can meet, without molestation from any quarter, not only to transact the general business of the profession, but also for the purposes of study and mutual instruction, and for the purpose of having Lectures delivered, on professional and philosophical subjects, to the younger members of the profession, and to all who may feel an interest in such pursuits. Where is there an individual of any standing in the profession here, who would not, in early life, have been delighted to enjoy the advantages of such an Institution as this? And who can

now anticipate the advantages of it to our younger members, and those who may succeed us on this scene? They will all have abundant reason to thank us for the large provision which we have already made, and will still endeavour to make, for the continued prosecution of their professional studies, during the period through which they must pass, before they may be called, in maturer years, to discharge the serious duties which may devolve upon them.

It is not easy to form any conjecture respecting the influence of this Institution upon the future condition and character of the profession in Liverpool; and it would be useless to descant upon it. This Institution may, however, and I hope it will, be the means of uniting the different members of the profession, in a firm and compact body; disposed, at all times, to co-operate strenuously and cordially in the prosecution of every measure which may conduce to the interests of all. Such an union is much wanted here; and if it could be accomplished, it would be well worth all the trouble and expense to which this Institution has given rise.

The expression of the collected opinions of a numerous body of the profession assembled here, on all questions affecting the health of the town, cannot fail to produce a favourable impression on the minds of the inhabitants. From this place, as from a common centre, very interesting information affecting the welfare of large portions of the community, may be diffused in every direction; and thus its influence may be extensively beneficial.

In this place you may perhaps be able, sooner or later, to originate measures which may terminate in procuring for all who are engaged in the service of our public institutions, a fair and just remuneration for their labours. I can now only briefly glance at this subject, and must leave it for your future consideration. Some time must elapse before you can prevail upon the inhabitants of Liverpool to think, that it is neither just nor reasonable that so many of you should be expected to employ the best and most active period of your lives in labouring for the public without reward. Unrewarded duties and services such as yours, so extensive and so unremitted, have not yet been expected from any other portion of the community, and ought not to be expected from you.

It is here, however, necessary to observe, that the new Poor Law Act distinctly recognises the principle, that medical men, under certain arrangements, are legally entitled to remuneration for their attendance on the parochial poor. It is but too true, that many of the contracts made by the guardians of the poor with medical men, for this purpose, are totally inadequate to the services required, and painfully degrading to the profession. These instances of hardship and injustice will, no doubt, sooner or later, be rectified by the legislature. But at this time I wish particularly to fix your attention to the principle itself. Now, after this, I cannot conceive upon what reasonable plea the subscribers to private institutions for the relief of the sick poor can refuse to grant a fair annual remuneration to their medical attendants. It will, however, be for you who are more

immediately interested, to attend to this subject hereafter; and to endeavour, by calm, temperate, and reiterated discussion, to obtain the rewards to which you are justly entitled.

Many other subjects of great interest to the profession will necessarily come under discussion here; and one of the most important is the mode of remunerating medical men, as well as the time and the amount of such remuneration. There are some which bear equally upon the profession and the community at large. Such are certain Acts of Parliament recently passed. Such, for instance, is the Act for the registration of marriages, births, and deaths; requiring the cause of death, in each case, to be attested by a medical man. Such is the Poor Law Act, in which the profession is deeply interested. Such, also, is the late Coroners' Act. Now, on all questions relating to the profession, in the discussion of which you may be expected to take a share, allow me to exhort you earnestly to act upon all such occasions with the closest union. You should, then, move with one mind and one will. All trifling jealousies and differences should give way to the general good; for without union you can do nothing.

I must not, however, detain you longer with observations of this nature. It is time for me to proceed to the consideration of subjects of more immediate interest and importance; and the first in order is the Medical Library.

The formation of a valuable Library of reference is unquestionably an object of the greatest importance to the profession of Liverpool: but it has been only within the last three years, that a train of unexpected circumstances has led, step by step, to our present arrangements, has provided us with abundant accommodation, and has opened to us a fair prospect of greatly increasing our present Library. The Library is, even now, a very valuable one; and I have no doubt that in a few years more it will be one of the best local medical libraries in the kingdom. But great care will be requisite in the choice of books, and in forming a collection of the best works in the different departments of medical knowledge. In doing this, you may rely upon my assistance to the utmost extent of my power.

In order to enable you fully to understand the reason of the measures which I shall have to propose for your consideration respecting the Library, it will be necessary briefly to relate the history of it. About the year 1779, the medical gentlemen of the Infirmary, in conjunction with those of the Dispensary, began to form this Library. I think they could not then have contemplated the establishment of a permanent Library. Their arrangements seem to have been temporary, and to have been mere provisions for present convenience; for, instead of giving to every subscriber a permanent interest in the Library, they determined that as soon as their collection of books should cease to be useful to the profession, it should be sold; and that the produce of such sale should be divided between the two charities above mentioned. The subscribers had

thus no further interest in the Library than their right to peruse the books so long as they subscribed to it. Upon this arrangement has been founded a claim on behalf of these charities to a reversionary interest in the library, when the subscribers should cease to make any use of it. A more preposterous claim than this surely never was advanced; for it must be evident to every man of common sense, that the property of the Library can belong to none but those who purchased it. The Governors of the charities never contributed one farthing to it. Notwithstanding this awkward arrangement of its original projectors, the Library continued to increase, although, for some time, very slowly: but in the course of a few years it was removed, for the sake of greater convenience, from the Infirmary to the Dispensary, and was placed under the care of the late Mr Avison, apothecary to that institution; and then a greater interest was taken in it by the profession generally, and its increase became more rapid. It is not needful to pursue its history further. You all know how much of late years it has been tossed about, until it has at last, I hope, found a permanent resting place here.

It now seems to be the time for us, the present subscribers, to assert our right to the sole property of this Library, and to exclude for ever all other claimants. With this view, I would propose that, in the first instance, the Subscribers should record a general declaration to this effect. Then I would beg leave to submit to your consideration the following plan for the future government of this Library, the main object of which is to establish its permanence and security, by investing every Subscriber with a personal and beneficial interest in it.

The plan may be stated in the form of resolutions, as follow:—

I.—That the property of the Library shall be divided into Shares.

II.—That every Subscriber at the present time shall be entitled to a Share in it, without any additional expense.

III.—That the Shares be considered as personal property, and be disposable by the possessors, in the way of sale, gift, or bequest.

IV.—That a book be provided, to be called the Transfer Book, in which every Share shall be numbered; and that in this book each Subscriber shall subscribe his name, after the number of his Share; provision being made therein for the regular transfer of the Shares, when they pass from one individual to another.

V.—That all transfers in this book shall be signed by the persons making and by those receiving such transfers, and by any of the officers of the Library, or by the Librarian, as a witness to every transaction of this kind.

VI.—That no transfer shall be made without the previous sanction of the Library Committee; that is, that this Committee shall have the same power with respect to the admission of transfers, which they now exercise with respect to the admission of new Subscribers to the Library.

VII.—That if this plan should meet with your approbation, every

new Subscriber shall hereafter be required to pay a premium of on his admission to a Share in the Library. Such premium in every case to be applied to the use of the Library.

VIII.—That any Subscriber may be at liberty to take as many Shares in the Library as he may choose; it being always understood, that he will be required to pay regularly the Annual Subscription on all such Shares.

IX.—That every Subscriber on paying his Annual Subscription, shall write his name, the amount of his Subscription, and the date when it was paid, in a book, to be provided for the purpose.

X.—That if any Subscriber, after having received notice from the Librarian, that his Subscription is due, should allow it to be in arrears for two consecutive years, he shall forfeit his Share in the Library; and such forfeited Share shall be sold by the Committee for the benefit of the Library.

XI.—That the Library Committee may be at liberty to admit as Subscribers to the Library, any respectable individuals in the town or neighbourhood, who are not in any manner connected with the profession.

XII. That after these resolutions are passed, the Subscription to the Library shall be raised to thirty shillings per annum.

XIII.—That the Library Committee shall fix the times, daily, for the delivery of books; but, that the Institution shall be open, daily, from to in order to admit visitors to see it.

XIV.—That every Subscriber to the building shall have free access, by ticket, to visit it whenever it is open.

XV.—That a copy of these resolutions shall be laid on the Library table, for the inspection and examination of the Subscribers, until Wednesday, the 14th June; when they will be requested to meet and take the same into consideration, and to suggest such alterations and improvements as may appear to be the most likely to obtain the object in view.

If these resolutions should be approved by you, we shall then have an income quite sufficient for the purposes of the Library, after paying the necessary expenses. An addition of five shillings to the Annual Subscription will be little felt; but it would make a most material addition to our income.

You may perhaps think it requisite to make a provision for the temporary Subscriptions of young men, apprentices to the surgeons, to whom it might be inconvenient to purchase Shares, and who would require only a temporary use of the Library. Any arrangement for this purpose may be safely left to the care of the Library Committee.

It may possibly be thought by some, that with respect to the constitution of the Library, it is now too late to make any change in it. I am, however, by no means of that opinion. On the contrary, I think that no further delay should now take place in altering its faulty constitution, so as to establish its permanence, and to enable us

to augment it to the utmost possible extent. And, I am fully persuaded, that if such a proceeding as the one now proposed had been adopted at its first formation, we should have had, at the expiration of fifty-eight years, a much larger Library than the present.

The next point to which your attention is requested, is the future management of the Institution. You know that the land upon which this building has been erected, and of course the building also, has been leased by the Common Council to certain Trustees. These Trustees are responsible for the care of the building, and are obliged to see that it is kept always in good repair. But, it cannot be expected, that they should, themselves, incur the expense of such repairs. It appears to me to be necessary to provide a fund for this purpose, to be called the TRUSTEES' FUND, applicable to defray the expense of insurance, and of such repairs as may from time to time be required. Now, although it must rest with you, to take such steps as you may think proper, to raise such a fund, yet, I hope you will permit me to point out some sources from which it may be obtained, without undue pressure upon any party.

In the First place, I should expect that the Committee of the Library would consent to pay to the Trustees, a certain annual sum for the accommodation which they will have within these walls. The Trustees have incurred very considerable expense in fitting up the Library and Committee-room. If the Annual Subscription be increased, as I have already proposed, the Committee will be enabled to contribute, without inconvenience, a fair and reasonable annual sum in the way of rent; and the possession of their accommodations may be secured to them by a lease from the Trustees, for such a period as may be agreed upon between the parties. The amount of such rent must be left for future adjustment.

Secondly.—I think we may reasonably expect that the Medical Society would contribute to the same fund an annual sum for the use of the Lecture-room, in which their meetings might be held.

Thirdly.—When the Pathological Society is fully constituted, they cannot object to make us a liberal remuneration annually, for the use of the Museum and Preparation-room; for they can procure no where else in Liverpool, such accommodations as they will find here.

Lastly.—It may be presumed that application will be made, from time to time, by strangers, and also by residents who have not subscribed to the erection of this building, for permission to deliver lectures on medical or philosophical subjects in our Lecture-room. In all such cases a remuneration should be required by the Trustees for the use of the Lecture-room, and Depot-room, the amount of which must be fixed by you. At the same time I hope you will agree with me in opinion, that all Lecturers who have subscribed to the building, should be totally exempted from any other charge, than a small remuneration to the Trustees for lighting and warming the rooms in winter

From these different sources, I think the Trustees may calculate upon receiving an annual income generally sufficient for their wants. It is impossible now to estimate exactly the amount of such income; yet I think it not improbable that it may reach to between £50 and £60 per annum, or more. The Committee of the Literary and Commercial Institution in St Anne-street, have agreed to pay the Trustees £30 per annum for the use of the Lecture-room two evenings in each week, and the Trustees have ratified the agreement. It is not very probable that the building will require any material repairs for several years: and in the meantime, the income will accumulate so as to prepare the Trustees for any contingencies of this kind.

It would be very desirable that this fund should be raised, and I now believe that it may be raised, to such an amount as will enable the Trustees to defray nearly the entire expense of warming and lighting the whole building, and still leave a balance every year for other purposes. Perhaps some of you may point out additional sources for an augmentation of this annual fund. It is plain, that without some measures of this kind, the fund must be raised by subscriptions: but the method which I have ventured to suggest may probably be regarded by you as the least objectionable, and the most likely to be steadily productive.

All these matters, however, must be left to your future consideration.

There are one or two subjects more which will require your attention. In the management of an Institution like this, in which so many different interests are involved, it is obvious that sufficient power and authority must be delegated to some persons for the general government of it. There will be, fortunately, but few occasions for the exercise of any discretionary power; but such power will be required, and must be lodged somewhere. For instance, strangers may apply for leave to lecture here, who may be utterly unqualified for the task. It is our business, however, to take care that this Institution shall never be disgraced by inefficient or incompetent Lecturers. Now there ought to be power placed in the hands of persons, never likely to abuse it, to inquire into and examine the recommendations of strangers applying for leave to lecture here, and also into their means for elucidating their lectures; and to refuse the use of the Lecture-room to those who may appear to be glaringly incompetent, or unprepared, for the business which they propose to undertake. Now I would ask, where can this power be lodged, with less risk of abuse, than in the hands of the Trustees? As one of the Trustees, I utterly disclaim any wish for discretionary power of any kind, and I fully believe that all my colleagues will with equal sincerity also disclaim it: but at the same time I have no doubt that they would exercise any power of this nature with due caution, if the Subscribers should think proper to invest them with it.

The last point to which I would solicit your attention, is the range of subjects upon which Lectures may be delivered here. It appears to me that they should be restricted within limits which should bear

a certain relation to the general objects of our pursuit. Within these limits might be included,

Natural History, in all its departments.

Geology.

Natural Philosophy.

Chemistry.

Every department of Medical Knowledge, including

Pathological and Comparative Anatomy: but excluding human Anatomy altogether. On this last subject the question is already decided; for we are strictly prohibited by the conditions of our Lease from the practice of human dissection here. And if the dissection of the human dead should be performed elsewhere, and if an entire body partially dissected, or dissected portions of a body, should be brought here to serve the purposes of a Lecturer, the practise would be attended with so many difficulties and with so much hazard, that in every instance it would be totally inadmissible.

I have now, Gentlemen, laid before you the different subjects which will require your attentive consideration; and have only to request that you will endeavour to form a decision upon them which may be satisfactory to all.

I may now bring this address to a conclusion, with the hope that you may all long continue to enjoy the benefits of this Institution. I cannot, on my own part, indulge any expectation of this kind. A few short years must terminate my career; and a much shorter period will greatly abridge or entirely terminate my professional labours in this town. Yet, I rejoice that I have lived long enough to see this building erected. I rejoice to see such an Institution as this established here; and, while life and health remain, I shall not cease to feel the warmest interest in its prosperity, and will use every effort to promote it. It remains for me now to thank you for the attention with which you have received this address; and to offer to you, my professional brethren, my best wishes for your welfare, and for your success in every useful and honourable undertaking.

